

Karl Baier / Philipp A. Maas / Karin Preisendanz (eds.)

Yoga in Transformation

Vienna University Press



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Titelbild: Four-armed Patañjali holding a sword. Ramamani Iyengar Memorial Yoga Institute, Pune.

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Jason Birch

Chapter 3: The Proliferation of *Āsana*-s in Late-Medieval Yoga Texts*

1. Introduction

Some scholars have already noted that the number of postures (*āsana*) described in the better-known Sanskrit yoga texts is considerably smaller than the large number of *āsana*-s practised in twentieth-century yoga.¹ Relatively few *āsana*-s are mentioned in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, its main commentaries and the three Haṭha Yoga texts which were widely published in the twentieth century, namely, the *Śivasamhitā* (ŚS), the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (HP) and the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā* (GS). Among these, the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā* teaches the most *āsana*-s, namely, thirty-two. On the basis of these sources, medieval yoga² appears to have little to do with

* The findings of this paper were first made public in the conference “Yoga in Transformation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on a Global Phenomenon” at the University of Vienna, 19–21 September 2013. Since then, my work on this paper has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 647963). I wish to thank Jacqueline Hargreaves for her many suggestions and for proof-reading several drafts of this chapter. Thanks also to Mark Singleton, Beatrix Hauser and Seth Powell for their comments on an earlier draft and, in particular, to Philipp Maas and James Mallinson for their numerous comments and generous advice on specific matters. I am grateful to both Mallinson and Singleton for their help in transcribing, translating and suggesting emendations on the passages on *āsana* practice in Appendices 1 and 2. I am also grateful to Christina Ong and Fiona Tan of COMO Shambhala, Singapore, for providing me with periods of paid work, which has financed the preliminary research for this chapter, and the ERC-funded Haṭha Yoga Project for funding the work that has enabled me to complete this chapter.

1 For example, Dasgupta 1969: 205, Sjoman 1999: 39–40, Bühnmann 2007a: 20–21, Larson 2008: 148, Singleton 2010: 32–33, etc.

2 My periodisation of yoga’s history is based on changes in its development. I take the beginning of the mediaeval period as the fifth or sixth century CE, which is the date of the earliest textual evidence for Tantric and Paurāṇic systems of yoga. I have extended the medieval period to the eighteenth century because the influence of modernity on yoga texts is evident only after this time. My designation of a late medieval period of the sixteenth to eighteenth century is based on distinct differences between the early corpus of Haṭha and Rāja Yoga, which culminated in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (15th c.), and the yoga texts written after the fifteenth century, which tend to be more scholarly productions that either expound upon Haṭha and Rāja Yoga in greater

the proliferation of *āsana*-s in yoga texts written in the early twentieth century.³ However, the lack of historical evidence on the practice of *āsana*-s has hampered scholarly efforts to reconstruct the modern history of yoga, as Joseph Alter has stated:⁴

[...] there is virtually nothing that allows for the construction of a history of *āsana* practice. Clearly this signals the need for ongoing research. [...] the paucity of any clear history of practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should raise a red flag of sorts concerning the putative antiquity of everything that is now counted as Haṭha Yoga.

The writing of this chapter was prompted by the discovery of several manuscripts of medieval yoga texts which contain lists of more than eighty-four *āsana*-s, a canonical number mentioned in several yoga texts.⁵ Until now, lists of eighty-four *āsana*-s have been found in only two recently published yoga texts, namely, the *Haṭharatnāvalī* (HR) and the *Jogapradīpyakā* (JP).⁶ The manuscript evidence presented in this chapter indicates that these published texts are not isolated accounts of medieval yoga systems with many complex *āsana*-s. In fact, it is clear that more than eighty-four *āsana*-s were practised in some traditions of Haṭha Yoga before the British arrived in India. The majority of these *āsana*-s were not seated poses, but complex and physically-demanding postures, some of which involved repetitive movement, breath control and the use of ropes. When the *āsana*-s in the sources which I shall analyse in this chapter are considered in their totality, antecedents can be identified for many non-seated⁷ and inverted postures in twentieth-century systems of Indian yoga.

When the above late-medieval yoga texts are taken into account within the broader history of Haṭha Yoga,⁸ it becomes apparent that there was a substantial increase in the number of *āsana*-s after the sixteenth century and that, from the seventeenth century onwards, various lists of eighty-four or more *āsana*-s have been recorded. In contrast to this, very few *āsana*-s were mentioned or described

detail or attempt to synthesise teachings of Haṭha and Rāja Yoga with those of Brahmanical texts (including Pātañjalayoga).

3 One of the most extensive surveys of Indian *āsana*-s from both modern and pre-modern sources is Gharote et al. 2006.

4 Alter 2004: 23.

5 Bühnemann 2007a: 25–27.

6 Other yoga texts such as the *Yogāsanamālā* are mentioned in Gharote et al. 2006: lxxii and Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute 2006: 13, but these texts have not yet been published.

7 Non-seated postures usually refer to those *āsana*-s performed in a standing, supine, prone, twisting, back-bending, forward-bending or arm-balancing position. The one exception to my comment above is that medieval yoga traditions provide very few antecedents to modern standing poses. See the Conclusion and Appendix 3 of the present chapter for more information on this.

8 For a chronology of published Haṭha texts, see Birch 2011: 528–529. The relevant unpublished material is described and dated in this paper.

in the early Haṭha texts, which can be dated from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.

The present chapter consists of six sections. Following this Introduction, Section 2 is a general overview of the historical development of *āsana* in Haṭha Yoga. This should provide some context for the examination of three manuscripts in Section 3, which leads to questions concerning the chronology and increments of the number of *āsana*-s in medieval yoga discussed in Section 4. Section 5 investigates the relationship between medieval and modern *āsana* practices. There, I shall propose reasons for why these extensive lists of *āsana*-s occur only in sources which were written after the sixteenth century and I shall discuss whether these *āsana*-s influenced those gurus who led the revival of physical yoga in the twentieth century. Finally, Section 6 provides a summary of the main results of the present chapter as well as the prospects for future research.

2. The History of *Āsana* in Haṭha Yoga

In the fifteenth century, Svātmārāma compiled the *Haṭhapradīpikā* by borrowing verses from various medieval yoga texts, which taught either a system of Haṭha and Rāja Yoga or techniques that were incorporated into later traditions of Haṭha Yoga. Most of these earlier texts mention or describe only one or two *āsana*-s. In most cases, these are seated *āsana*-s such as the lotus pose (*padmāsana*). The names of these *āsana*-s are found in the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*, except for *siddhāsana*, which may have been known to Patañjali by a different name.⁹ The following table summarises the number of *āsana*-s in early Haṭha texts:¹⁰

9 The *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra* contains the names of thirteen *āsana*-s but it does not describe them. Therefore, the postural shape of these *āsana*-s at the time of Patañjali is uncertain. The earliest descriptions of them are found in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra* (see Maas' chapter in the present volume, p. 62) and none of these descriptions mention the penis being pressed by either one or both heels. *Siddhāsana* is referred to by other names in medieval yoga texts, such as the *Gorakṣaśataka* (15), which calls it *vajrāsana*. The *Haṭhapradīpikā* states that it was also known as *muktāsana* and *guptāsana*. As Philipp Maas has kindly pointed out to me (personal communication, 3 October 2013), the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*'s list of thirteen *āsana*-s is not definitive because it ends with *ityevamādi* (i.e., “and so forth”). Nonetheless, there was no proliferation of *āsana*-s in the commentarial tradition of Pātāñjalayoga, until the late medieval period when the seventeenth-century Nārāyaṇatīrtha listed and described thirty-eight *āsana*-s in his commentary the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* on *sūtra* 2.46. Most of these *āsana*-s are borrowed from earlier yoga texts, most notably the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (which Nārāyaṇatīrtha refers to as the *Yogapradīpa*), the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Dharmaputrikā* (for more information on the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, see Birch 2013b: 414–415).

10 The *Yogatārāvalī*'s *terminus a quo* is the composition of the second chapter of the *Amanaska*

Text	Probable date CE	No. of <i>āsana</i> -s named but not described	No. of <i>āsana</i> -s named and described	Total
Amaraughaprabodha	14th c.	0	0	0
Amṛtasiddhi	12th c.	0	0	0
Khecarīvidyā	14th c.	0	0	0
Yogatārāvalī	14th c.	0	0	0
Yogabīja	14th c.	1	0	1
Dattātreyayogaśāstra	13th c.	1	1	2
Gorakṣasataka	12–13th c.	0	2	2
Vivekamārtaṇḍa (Viv)	12–13th c.	0	2	2
Śivasamhitā	15th c.	2	4	6
Yogayājñavalkya	14th c.	0	8	8
Vasiṣṭhasamhitā	12th c.	0	10	10

Table 1: The number of *āsana*-s in early Haṭha texts.

Three of the above texts teach non-seated *āsana*-s, namely, the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā*, the *Yogayājñavalkya* and the *Śivasamhitā*. The twelfth or thirteenth-century *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* is the earliest extant textual source on Haṭha Yoga to include non-seated postures, which are *mayūrāsana* and *kukkuṭāsana*.¹¹ Eight of the *āsana*-s in the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā*, including *mayūrāsana* but not *kukkuṭāsana*, were reproduced in the *Yogayājñavalkya*, which was probably written a century or two later and borrows extensively from the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā*.¹² The fifteenth-

(11th–12th CE), on the basis of one parallel verse and the more general influence of the *Amanaska*'s Rāja Yoga (*Amanaska* 2.67 ≈ YTĀ 20; for my arguments on why this text would not predate the *Amanaska*, see Birch 2011: 528, n. 19). The *Yogatārāvalī*'s *terminus ad quem* is most probably the composition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, with which it shares one verse (HP 4.66 ≈ YTĀ 2), as well as the seamless combination of Haṭha and Rāja Yoga, which probably post-dates the hierarchy of four yogas (i.e., Mantra, Laya, Haṭha and Rāja). For a discussion of the date of the *Śivasamhitā*, see n. 13.

11 The Aṣṭāṅgayoga of Vasiṣṭha and Yājñavalkya is taught in these two texts. Their Aṣṭāṅgayoga is referred to as one of two types of Haṭha Yoga in DYŚ 26c–29: “That [described in the previous section] was Laya Yoga. Now listen to Haṭha Yoga. General observances, preliminary practices and, after that, postures, breath control is the fourth [auxiliary], sense withdrawal the fifth, then concentration is taught, meditation is said to be the seventh and absorption, which bestows the rewards of all merit, is the eighth. Yājñavalkya and others know Aṣṭāṅgayoga thus. Siddhas, such as Kapila and so on, practise a Haṭha Yoga different to that” (*sa eva layayogaḥ syād dhaṭhayogaṃ tataḥ śṛṇu || 26 || yamaś ca niyamaś caiva āsanam ca tataḥ param | prāṇāyāmaś caturthaḥ syāt pratyāhāras tu pañcamah || 27 || tatas tu dhāraṇā proktā dhyānam saptamam ucyaṭe | samādhir aṣṭamaḥ proktaḥ sarvaḥ puṇyaphalapradaḥ || 28 || evam aṣṭāṅgayogaṃ ca yājñavalkyādayo viduḥ | kapilādyas tu siddhāś ca haṭham kuryus tato nyathā*).

12 For the relevant references on dating the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya*, see Birch 2011: 528.

century *Śivasamhitā* (3.109) teaches *paścimottānāsana*, a forward bending posture, and extols it as one of the foremost (*agrya*) *āsana*-s.¹³ Nonetheless, these sources do not suggest that an early tradition of Haṭha Yoga incorporated the practice of numerous *āsana*-s. In fact, the emphasis of these texts is on *prāṇāyāma* and *mudrā* and, in most cases, only those *āsana*-s required for such practices were considered important.

Although the aforementioned texts of Haṭha Yoga's early traditions teach relatively few *āsana*-s, it would be a mistake to conclude that these were the only *āsana*-s known to their authors. Several of the early texts acknowledge the existence of eight million four hundred thousand *āsana*-s (*caturaśītilakṣa*) and assert that Śiva taught eighty-four of them. For example, the *Dattātreya yogaśāstra*, one of the earliest extant yoga texts to teach Haṭha Yoga (Mallinson 2011: 771), says:

Among the eight million four hundred thousand *āsana*-s, listen to [my description of] the best one. In this system it is called lotus pose, [which] was taught by Śiva.¹⁴

A statement similar to the above is found in the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* (8–10), a yoga text that may have been written close to the time of the *Dattātreya yogaśāstra*.¹⁵ It does not mention Haṭha Yoga by name, but was one of the sources of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Mallinson 2014: 239):

There are as many *āsana*-s as there are types of living beings. Śiva knows all the varieties of them. Every one of the eight million four hundred thousand *āsana*-s has been named by Śiva and, from among them, he taught eighty-four postures. From the aggregate of

13 The ŚŚ (3.108–109) may predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā* because the latter contains several verses of the former (see Mallinson 2014: 239–244). However, whether every chapter of the *Śivasamhitā* predates the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is, in my opinion, uncertain because the *Śivasamhitā* does not appear to be a cohesive text. The fifth chapter may have been written separately from the first four chapters because it contains some teachings that contradict statements in the earlier chapters. For example, in the third chapter (3.40–41), a list of twenty *niyama*-s is given. However, at 5.7, *niyama* is listed among the obstacles to yoga. Also, there are different lists of obstacles in the third and fifth chapters, and the fifth chapter teaches a tetrad of yogas (i. e., Mantra, Laya, Haṭha and Rāja), which is not mentioned as such in the earlier chapters. The dating of the *Śivasamhitā* is further complicated by the fact that it is a compilation containing verses of the *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* and the *Amṛtasiddhi* (Mallinson 2007b: x). Therefore, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the *Śivasamhitā* may have borrowed from a third source that is no longer extant. The composition of the *Yuktabhavadeva*, which contains a colophonic verse with the date 1623 CE, remains the most certain *terminus ad quem* of the *Śivasamhitā* in its current form because the *Yuktabhavadeva* (7.261–285) quotes with attribution passages from the third, fourth and fifth chapters of the *Śivasamhitā*.

14 DYŚ 34: *caturaśītilakṣeṣu āsaneṣūttamaṃ śṛṇu | ādināthena samproktaṃ padmāsanam ihocyate ||*.

15 Similar statements on eighty-four *āsana*-s also occur in the *Śivasamhitā* (3.96) and the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.35).

āsana-s, only these two are important; the first is called *siddhāsana* and the second *kamalāsana*.¹⁶

While such statements are partly rhetorical devices that assert the divine origin of all *āsana*-s, much like the so-called śāstric paradigm in various genres of Sanskrit literature,¹⁷ the recognition of innumerable *āsana*-s in a culture accustomed to sitting on the ground should come as no surprise. Also, it is possible that many *āsana*-s were practised before the fifteenth century by other ascetic and martial traditions which have left no written record. References to *āsana* practice in the *Mallapurāṇa*, a late medieval text on wrestling, and *Kāmaśāstra* texts have been noted by Norman Sjoman¹⁸ and Gudrun Bühnemann, respectively.¹⁹ When one considers that the early traditions of Haṭha Yoga taught only a handful of *āsana*-s but were aware of many more, it suggests that these traditions dismissed the practice of many different *āsana*-s in favour of only those that facilitated other techniques, namely, *prāṇāyāma* and *mudrā*.

Christian Bouy²⁰ and Mallinson²¹ have shown that the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is largely an anthology of earlier Haṭha and Rāja Yoga texts. By surreptitiously

16 Vivekamārtaṇḍa 8–10: *āsanāni ca tāvanti yāvatyo jīvajātayaḥ | eteṣāṃ akhilān bhedān vijānāti maheśvaraḥ || 8 || caturāṣṭitlakṣānām ekaikaṃ samudāhṛtam | tataḥ śivena pīṭhānām ṣoḍaśaṇām śataṃ kṛtam || 9 || āsanebhyaḥ samastebhyo dvayam eva viśiṣyate | ekaṃ siddhāsanaṃ proktaṃ dvitīyaṃ kamalāsanaṃ || 10 || . 8a ca] Viv, VivB, VivN1, Gś : tu Gśk. 8a–b tāvanti yāvatyo] Viv : tāvanti yāvato VivN2 : tāvanti yāvantyo Gś, Gśl : tāvanti yāvanto VivB : tāvanto yāvanto VivN1. 8b jīvajātayaḥ] Viv, VivB, Gś, Gśk : jīvajantavaḥ VivN1, VivN2. 8c akhilān bhedān] Viv, VivB, Gś, Gśk, akhilāb bhedān VivN2 : tulā bhedāyo VivN1. 9b ekaikaṃ samudāhṛtam] VivB, VivN2, Gś : caikaikaṃ samudāhṛtam VivN1 : ekaṃ ekam udāhṛtam Viv, Gśk. 9c pīṭhānām] ∑ : pīṭhena VivN1. 9d ṣoḍaśaṇām] ∑ : ṣoḍaśānām VivN1. 10b eva viśiṣyate] VivN1, Gśk : eva praśasyate Viv : etad udāhṛtam VivB, VivN2, Gś. 10c proktaṃ] Viv, VivB, VivN1, VivN2, Gśk : tatra Gś. For the abbreviations (e.g., Viv, VivB, etc.) in the apparatus, please see the list of abbreviations at the end of this chapter.*

17 See Pollock 1985: 512 for his discussion of the śāstric paradigm. McComas Taylor (2007: 69) has defined it succinctly as follows: “This paradigm incorporates a set of common features, including claims of cosmogonic origins, divine authorship, and vast scope, which serve to empower and valorize śāstric texts.”

18 Sjoman 1999: 56–57.

19 Bühnemann (2007a: 27, n. 62, 2007b: 158) cites a modern work called the *Saṅkhyāsāṅketakośa* by Haṇmaṃte, who lists eighty-four positions from the *Kośaśāstra*. However, my research on the *Kośaśāstra*, a Sanskrit text otherwise known as the *Ratirahasya* (Upadhyaya 1965) and generally ascribed to the twelfth century, has failed to confirm this. Chapter ten of the *Kośaśāstra* is on sexual positions (*bandha*), and it describes thirty-eight positions and mentions the names of another four. I was unable to find any mention of eighty-four positions in this work. Some manuscript catalogues indicate that there is a Persian translation of the *Kośaśāstra*, dated 1763–1764 and called *Khulāsāt al-ʿaish-i ʿĀlam Shāhī*, a Braj Bhāṣā translation called the *Kokamañjarī*, one manuscript of which is dated 1784 CE, and a Marathi one called the *Ratimañjarī*. I am yet to consult any of these eighteenth-century works, but it is possible that Haṇmaṃte took his list of *āsana*-s from one of them.

20 Bouy 1994.

21 Mallinson 2011: 772–773 and 2014: 239–244.

integrating a variety of sources, Svātmārāma described more postures in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* than did the earlier yoga texts, and he states that he knew more than the fifteen poses in his work:

[Only] some of the *āsana*-s accepted by sages such as Vasiṣṭha and yogis such as Matsyendra are mentioned [in this text] by me.²²

The reference to Vasiṣṭha points to the *āsana*-s of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, eight of which are reproduced verbatim in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.²³ However, the exact nature of Matsyendra's association with Haṭha Yoga remains unclear because there is no earlier, extant Haṭha text attributed to him, and no earlier source for the pose called *matsyendrāsana*. Therefore, there is not enough textual evidence to determine how many postures Svātmārāma may have known beyond the fifteen he recorded in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

After the time of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, a list of names of eighty-four *āsana*-s, thirty-six of which are described, was recorded in the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, which was probably written in the seventeenth century.²⁴ There are descriptions of eighty-four postures in the *Jogapradīpyakā* and one hundred and ten in the *Yogāsanamālā*.²⁵ Both of these texts can be dated to the eighteenth century on the basis of the oldest scribal dates in manuscripts of these texts (Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute 2006: 11–13). The *Haṭharatnāvalī* and the *Jogapradīpyakā* have been published in India but are not widely available, though Bühnemann²⁶ has discussed them in her work on eighty-four *āsana*-s.

The three manuscripts that are the focus of this chapter, the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (YC) (Ujjain ms.), the *Haṭhapradīpikā-Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (SMĀ) and the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (HAP), corroborate the chronological increase in the number of *āsana*-s seen in published texts. The proliferation of *āsana*-s is shown in the following table:²⁷

22 HP 1.18: *vasiṣṭhādyaiś ca munibhir matsyendrādyaiś ca yogibhiḥ | aṅgikṛtāny āsanāni ka-thyante kāni cin mayā ||*.

23 These verses are identified in Mallinson 2014: 240.

24 Śrīnivāsabhaṭṭa's *Haṭharatnāvalī*'s *terminus a quo* is the composition of the fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which is mentioned by name in the *Haṭharatnāvalī* at 1.12, 27–28, 50, 2.87, 141 and 3.23. The *Haṭharatnāvalī*'s *terminus ad quem* is the composition of the *Haṭhātattvakaumudī* of the eighteenth-century Sundaradeva who quotes the *Haṭharatnāvalī* with attribution at 8.3 and 13.

25 I have consulted one manuscript of the *Yogāsanamālā* (ms. no. 5450 Rajasthan Oriental Research Library, Jodhpur), which numbers its *āsana*-s up to one hundred and ten. However, folios 18, 24, 25, 26 and 27 are missing. Therefore, only one hundred and five *āsana*-s remain in this manuscript. All of these *āsana*-s have names and illustrations, and most of them are described.

26 Bühnemann 2007a: 27–29, 2007b: 159–160.

27 The numbers presented for the *Jogapradīpyakā* require specification: At JP v. 498, which is in the chapter on *prāṇāyāma*, *gorakha āsana* is mentioned but not described. In the third

Text	Probable date CE	No. of <i>āsana</i> -s named but not described	No. of <i>āsana</i> -s named and described	Total
Haṭhapradīpikā	15th c.	0	15	15
Yogacintāmaṇi	17th c.	0	34	34
Yogacintāmaṇi (Ujjain ms.)	1659	56	62	118
Haṭharatnāvalī	17th c.	48	36	84
Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā	18th c.	0	32	32
Haṭhapradīpikā-Siddhāntamuktāvalī	18th c.	0	96	96
Jogapradīpyakā	18th c.	1	89	90
Yogāsanamālā	18th c.	0	110	110
Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati	18th c.	0	112	112

Table 2: The proliferation of *āsana*-s.

Most of the texts listed in the above table repeat the statement that Śiva taught eighty-four *āsana*-s, which first occurs in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* and the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.²⁸ The significant difference is that they tend to add to this statement either lists of names or descriptions of eighty-four or more *āsana*-s.

3. Three Unpublished Manuscripts

3.1. The Ujjain Manuscript of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*

Two centuries after the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, several large yoga compilations which integrated teachings of Haṭha and Rāja Yoga with those of Pātanjalyoga and Brahmanical texts were written. One such work is the early seventeenth-century *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī, an Advaitavedāntin who probably resided in Vārāṇasī during the reigns of the Moghul rulers Shāh Jahān and his sons.²⁹ The

chapter of the *Jogapradīpyakā*, eighty-four *āsana*-s are described, but another four are described at various places in the chapter on *prāṇāyāma* (Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute 2006: 73). Therefore, the *Jogapradīpyakā* contains just a single *āsana* that is mentioned but not described, whereas the total number of described *āsana*-s is 89.

²⁸ The *Yogacintāmaṇi* (p. 157) quotes Viv 8cd–10 as Gorakṣa and HP 1.35 with attribution; HR 1.18, 3.7–8, 23; GS 2.1; SMĀ fol. 25v, ll. 4–5 (verse no. 2.31); JP vv. 360–361.

²⁹ On the date of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, see Birch 2013b: 421, n. 7. The hypothesis that Śivānanda was a resident of Vārāṇasī is supported by his reference to his devotion to Viśveśvara, a standard claim of Śaivas who resided there. I wish to thank Alexis Sanderson for pointing this out to me. Moreover, he also noted that similar references to Viśveśvara in works of Śaivas who resided in Vārāṇasī can be found in Jñānaśiva's *Jñānaratnāvalī* and Viśvanātha's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, which are both Saiddhāntika Paddhatis (personal communication, 24 April

latter half of this work is structured according to the standard eight auxiliaries of yoga. In the section on *āsana*, there are descriptions of thirty-four *āsana*-s from a wide selection of sources,³⁰ including the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*, Vācaspatimiśra's commentary thereon, Bhojadeva's *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, several Purāṇas – the *Āgneya*, *Kūrma* and *Skandapurāṇa*, two Tantric Śaiva works – the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* and *Dharmaputrikā* – and six medieval yoga texts – the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, the *Yogayājñavalkya*, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and an unknown text called the *Pavanayogasaṅgraha*.³¹ Śivānanda cited the names of all his sources, which makes the *Yogacintāmaṇi* a valuable resource for dating some yoga texts and for identifying others that are no longer extant.

Among the five manuscripts and one printed edition of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* that have been consulted for this chapter, one manuscript contains considerably more *āsana*-s than the others. The manuscript in question, which I refer to as the “Ujjain manuscript”, is held at the Scindia Oriental Research Library in Ujjain. Its final colophon is the same as that of other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.³² After the final colophon, the scribe has written the date “1717 *jyeṣṭhe śuddha* 15 *brhaspatyām*”³³ *pūrṇaḥ*”.³⁴

Unfortunately, the era (i. e., *vikrama* or *śaka*) is not specified. However, the details concerning the bright half (*śuddha*) of the month named *Jyaiṣṭha*, the fifteenth *tithi* and the day, Thursday (*brhaspati*), confirm that the year was *vikramasamvat* 1717 (i. e., Thursday, 5 June 1659 CE), as long as one understands the 1717 as a current northern year, and not an expired one.³⁵ Therefore, this manuscript was written in the mid-seventeenth century. Some changes have been made to the numbers of folios and at least four folios have been added to the section on *āsana*.³⁶ However, the scribe's hand is consistent throughout the

2013). The reference to Śivānanda being a devotee of Viśveśvara occurs in a colophonic verse, which may have been written by Śivānanda himself, in ms. 6922, last folio, ll. 6–10 and ms. 9784 pp. 189–190.

30 The number thirty-four is achieved by counting different versions of the same pose separately.

31 For the list of the texts cited in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, see Gode 1953: 472–473.

32 YC, ms. no. 3537, fol. 104v, ll. 7–8: *iti śrīmatparamahansa-parivrajakācāryaśrīrāma-candrasadānandasarasvatīśiṣyaśivānandasarasvatīviracitayogacintāmaṇau caturthaḥ paricchedaḥ samāptaś cāyaṃ grantho 'pi || rudrasūno[r] bālyagastino gargho 1 nāmn[o] 'yam granthas tenaiva likhitaḥ ||*

33 Emend. *brhaspatyām* : Codex *brhaspatyam*.

34 YC, ms. no. 3537, fol. 104v, l. 8. Part of the date is in the left margin.

35 I wish to thank Philipp Maas for pointing out to me that the calculation of 1717 as a current northern year yields the right day (i. e., Thursday). The calculation of 1717 as an expired year in the *vikrama* era gives Wednesday and in the *śaka* era, Tuesday. Also, taking 1717 as a current year in the *śaka* era gives the wrong day (i. e., Friday). I have tested these calculations using both the *Amānta* and *Pūrṇimānta* schemes.

36 The changes made to the folio numbers begin at folio 43, which is well before the section on *āsana*. I can see no reason for the change at folio 43, other than, perhaps, to correct an error in

manuscript, so the date of its additional lists of *āsana*-s must be close to that of the manuscript. This means that it was probably written around the same time as the *Haṭharatnāvalī*. Seeing that the earliest date for a catalogued manuscript of the *Haṭharatnāvalī* is 1812 CE,³⁷ the Ujjain manuscript of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* is the earliest dated manuscript containing lists of more than eighty-four names of *āsana*-s.

The section on *āsana* in the Ujjain manuscript begins with the same introductory remarks as those in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. However, there is one small but significant variation in the opening comment, which reads:³⁸

athāsanāni 84 tatra patañjaliḥ || sthīrasukham āsanam ||

Now, the 84 *āsana*-s. On this [subject], Patañjali [said], “An *āsana* is steady and comfortable”.

Other manuscripts do not mention the number eighty-four, but simply have *athāsanam*. The scribe of the Ujjain manuscript inserted the “84” with the intention of describing more than the thirty-four *āsana*-s that are usually found in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.

Another significant difference between the Ujjain manuscript and other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* is that the scribe listed and numbered the *āsana*-s rather than just copying them as text. The number and the name of each pose are written on the left side of each folio and the description on the right side.³⁹ The change in format indicates that the scribe was compiling a list of *āsana*-s that went beyond the text of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. After the thirty-fourth

the original numbering. Some of the changes were made by writing over the original numbers, but most by covering the original numbers with a yellow paste. The section on *āsana* begins on folio 58v, and the changes that have been made to folios 58–62 appear consistent with the changes made to the previous folios. However, the numbers of folios 63–66 have not been corrected, which indicates that these folios were probably added at a later time. These inserted folios contain most of the third list of *āsana*-s. The two folios following this inserted section have the same numbers as the previous two folios (i. e., 65–66) and, in this chapter, I refer to them as folios 65a and 66a. The verso side of the folio at the end of the section on *āsana* (i. e., 67v) has verses on yoga, which are not found in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. I have traced these verses to a chapter on yoga in the *Śārngarapaddhati* (4508–4516). On the next folio (i. e., 68), the second chapter of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* begins.

37 HR, reel No. A 990–19 (1), Kathmandu National Archives. See [http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_990-19\(1\)_Haṭharatnāvalī](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_990-19(1)_Haṭharatnāvalī) (accessed 12 August 2014). The earliest dated manuscript used by M. L. Gharote (2009: xiii) for his critical edition of the *Haṭharatnāvalī* is ms. no. 4–39, dated *saṃvat* 1895, *mārgaśīrṣa śukla pañcamī bṛhaspativāre* (Thursday, 22 November 1838).

38 YC, ms. no. 3537, fol. 58v, l. 4.

39 There are actually two sets of numbers. The one on the right side of the name of each pose appears to be the original numbering because it excludes several *āsana*-s which were added in the margins and as interlinear comments at a later time.

āsana,⁴⁰ the scribe has inserted the colophon “*iti yogacintāmaṇāv āsanasaṅgrahaḥ*”.⁴¹

This colophon marks the end of the collection of *āsana*-s as they appear in the other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. An obscure scribal comment after the colophon seems to indicate that five *āsana*-s were added to this collection,⁴² but the most important feature of the Ujjain manuscript is that its list of *āsana*-s continues beyond the colophon to add another twenty-one *āsana*-s, which are numbered thirty-five to fifty-four. Six of these additional *āsana*-s have the same names as *āsana*-s mentioned in the *bhāṣya* part of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (2.46) and, apart from one exception, their descriptions derive from Vācaspatimiśra’s *Tattvavaiśārādī*.⁴³ However, as far as I am aware, the remaining fifteen descriptions are not found in any yoga text that predates the sixteenth century.⁴⁴

After the *āsana* numbered forty-nine, a table has been inserted at the bottom of folio 62v, as can be seen in Figure 1. It contains the names of eighty-one *āsana*-s in alphabetical order. Seeing that thirty-nine of these *āsana*-s are not found in the list above it, the contents of the table can be seen as a second, separate list. It is possible that the scribe intended to insert eighty-four *āsana*-s in the table but was prevented from doing so because of congestion within some of the cells, in particular, *ka* and *sa*.

On the folio following the table (i. e., 63r) begins an unnumbered list of one hundred and twelve names of *āsana*-s, which includes seventeen repetitions. This is a third separate list, in which the names of the *āsana*-s are placed vertically

40 This is numbered thirty-three on the left side of the name of the pose. The discrepancy in the numbering arises from the fact that the scribe has included two different types of *padmāsana* under one heading.

41 YC, ms. no. 3537, fol. 61v, l. 5.

42 The scribal comment after *iti yogacintāmaṇāv āsanasaṅgrahaḥ* is difficult to decipher but reads: *yatra puro ’ñkaḥ* (29) *saḥ aṅkātiriktam* (7) *anyataḥ saṅgrhītaṃ paścād aṅkaiḥ* || (note: the *ścā* of *paścād* is not clear). This comment, which has been corrected at another time, seems to be pointing out that the group of twenty-nine *āsana*-s (according to the manuscript’s numbering on the left of each *āsana*’s name) above this colophon is from the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, whereas seven *āsana*-s were added from elsewhere. In actual fact, seven *āsana*-s have been added as marginal notes and interlinear comments to those usually found in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. These are *kevalasvastika*, *ardha*, *garuḍa*, *markaṭa*, *garbhāsana*, *paryāṅka* and *virāsana*. Therefore, the scribal comment following the colophon is probably referring to those seven additional *āsana*-s which have been numbered. I wish to thank Péter-Dániel Szántó, Somdeva Vasudeva, Csaba Kiss, James Mallinson and Mark Singleton for their help in deciphering this comment.

43 These *āsana*-s are *daṇḍāsana*, *sopāśraya*, *krauñcaṇiśadana*, *hastinaḥ* (= *hastiniśadana*), *uṣṭrasya* (= *uṣṭraniśadana*) and *samasthāna*. The descriptions of *daṇḍa*, *sopāśraya* and *samasthāna* are almost the same as those by Vācaspatimiśra, and the description of *sopāśraya* is followed by *iti vācaspati*. The descriptions of *krauñca* and *hastiniśadana* do not vary much from earlier ones. However, the description of *uṣṭraniśadana* may be unique (see Appendix 1).

44 These *āsana*-s are numbered 35, 38, 43–55 in Table 3, below.

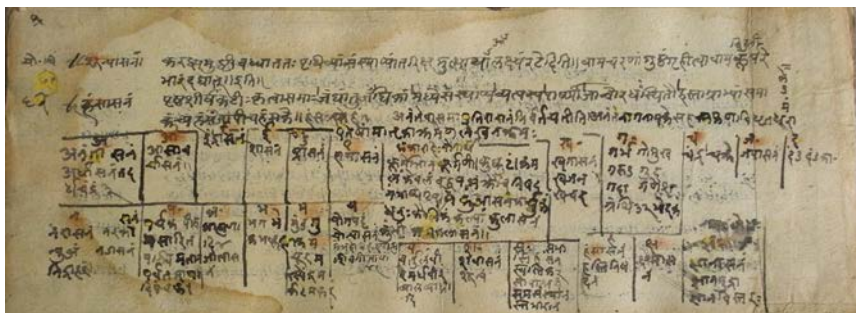


Figure 1: The Ujjain Manuscript of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, fol. 62v (photograph: Jacqueline Hargreaves).

along the left side of each folio. The right side is blank, as though the scribe had intended to fill out descriptions for each *āsana*, but for some unknown reason never completed them. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the very first *āsana* called *anantāsana* has its description included on the right side.⁴⁵ Several folios have names written upside down on the right side as well. The writing deteriorates as the list progresses. Most of the folios on which this list is written appear to have been inserted at a later time,⁴⁶ and the names of seventeen *āsana*-s have been repeated, which suggests that the scribe may have compiled this list from several unknown sources. Nonetheless, the scribe's hand remains consistent throughout the entire manuscript, though there are indications that he used a different pen at a later time to add corrections and marginal notes. Therefore, the third list can be dated reasonably close to the date of the manuscript.

The names of *āsana*-s in the Ujjain manuscript have been reproduced in Table 3, below. I have divided the first list into two parts called 1a and 1b, respectively. List 1a, which is written on folios 59r–61v, includes the *āsana*-s common to all manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and it ends with the colophon quoted above. In a few cases, I have inserted the number “2” or “3” in parentheses next to the name of an *āsana* in this list to indicate those instances in which two or three different descriptions are given for the same *āsana*. List 1b, which is written on folios 61v–62v and 67r, contains those *āsana*-s that have been added to list 1a by the scribe. The first seven were added as marginal and interlinear notes and the remaining twenty-one were written beneath the colophon (i.e., *iti yogacintāmaṇāṅ āsanasaṅgrahaḥ*). A transcription of the descriptions of these twenty-eight *āsana*-s is presented in Appendix 1. List 2 has the names of the *āsana*-s in

45 For this description of *anantāsana*, see n. 50.

46 For further information on this, see n. 36.

the table on folio 62v (see Figure 1) and list 3 consists of the *āsana*-s listed on folios 63r–66bv. Please take note of the following symbols:

- * = *āsana* in list 2 and not in lists 1a and 1b
- = *āsana* in list 3 and not in lists 1a, 1b and 2
- (r) = a repetition of a name of an *āsana* in list 3

No.	List 1a	List 1b	List 2	List 3
1	mṛgasvastika	kevalasvastika	anaṅga*	ananta•
2	ardhacandra	ardha	ardha	ardhacandra
3	añjalikā	paryāṅka	ardhacandra	ardha
4	daṇḍa	vīra	āsāvarī	ardhodaya•
5	pīṭha	garuḍa	indra*	āsāvarī
6	paryāṅka	markaṭa	īśa*	indra
7	yogaṭṭha	garbha	uṣṭra	īśakāmaka•
8	candrārḍha	cakra	eṇa*	layodāsana•
9	prasārita	daṇḍa	kūrma	uṣṭra
10	kūrma	sopāśraya	uttānakūrma	eṇa
11	ardha	candra	kukkuṭa	kūrmottāna
12	svastika (2)	krauñca	kamalaṃ kevalam	kukkuṭa
13	gomukha	hastī	baddhapadma	padmaṃ kevalam
14	vīra	uṣṭra	krauñca	baddhapadma
15	siṃha	samaśamsthāna	kubja	krauñca
16	bhadra	bhaga	kārmukadhanus*	kubja
17	mukta	kubja	kaulika*	kāmukadhanus
18	mayūra (2)	naḍa	kalpā*	kaulika
19	kukkuṭa	garbha	kula*	kalevara•
20	uttānakūrma	nyubja	kumbhīra*	kula
21	dhanus	stambha	kalā*	kumbhīra
22	matsysendra	śūnya	khaga*	khaga
23	paścimatāna	haṃsa	khañjana*	khañjana
24	śava	gaṇeśa	khecara*	khecara
25	naraka	guda	garbha	garuḍa
26	siddha (3)	pārvatī	gomukha	garbha
27	padmāsanam baddham	āsāvarī	garuḍa	gomukha
28	kamala	nidrāhara	guda	guda
29	padmāsanam kevalam (2)		gadā*	gaṇeśa

(Continued)

No.	List 1a	List 1b	List 2	List 3
30			gaṇeśa	granthibheda
31			granthibhedaka*	gadā
32			candra	kumbhīra (r)
33			cakra	matsya
34			japa*	kūrma
35			daṇḍa	makara
36			daṇḍakā*	siṃha
37			nara*	candra
38			naraka	cakra
39			nyubja*	japa
40			naḍa	daṇḍa
41			nidrāhara	daṇḍakā
42			paryaṅka	khecarakāraka•
43			pīṭha	kalpā
44			prasārīta	siddha
45			paścimatāna	kālavaśakara•
46			parvata*	nara
47			prāṇādīpaṇcaka*	naraka
48			brāhmaṇādi 4*	nyubja
49			bāla*	naḍa
50			bhaga	nidrāhara
51			bheka*	paryaṅka
52			bhakta*	granthibheda (r)
53			muṇḍa*	sarva•
54			mukta	jñāna
55			mayūra	kaulika (r)
56			matsyendra	khañjana (r)
57			markaṭa	pīṭha
58			makara*	prasārīta
59			yogapaṭṭa	paścima
60			yoni*	parvata
61			mantradoṣahara- pātya*	prāṇādīpaṇcaka
62			vartula*	śubha•
63			vīra	parvata (r)
64			ardhavīra*	prāṇādi 5 (r)

(Continued)

No.	List 1a	List 1b	List 2	List 3
65			vyāla*	brāhmaṇā-divarṇa 4•
66			vyāghrādi*	jāti 5•
67			śava	bhaga
68			śūnya	bheka
69			sabhā*	bhallūka•
70			siṃha	muṇḍa
71			svastika 2	mukta
72			sopāśraya	mayūra
73			samasamsthāna	matsyendra
74			stambha	markaṭa
75			haṃsa	yogapaṭṭa
76			hastiniśadana	yoni
77			kṣamā*	jātya (r)
78			jñānabodha*	pāśava•
79			jñānāsana*	śavasāadhanāni
80			jñānamudrā*	vartula
81			jñānavistara*	vīra
82				vīrārdha
83				vyāla
84				vyāghra
85				śava
86				śūnya
87				candra (r)
88				sūrya•
89				yoga•
90				gadā (r)
91				lakṣya•
92				kula (r)
93				brāhmaṇa (r)
94				sabhā
95				siṃha (r)
96				svastika
97				sopāśraya
98				samasamsthāna
99				stambha
100				haṃsa

(Continued)

No.	List 1a	List 1b	List 2	List 3
101				hasti
102				kṣamā
103				jñāna
104				jñānamudrā
105				jñānabodha
106				jñānavistara
107				haṃsa (r)
108				bhallūka (r)
109				vartula (r)
110				kṣemā (r)
111				divya•
112				ardhodaya (r)

Table 3: Names of āsana-s in the Ujjain manuscript.

As mentioned above (p. 111), list 1a is the compilation of thirty-four āsana-s common to all manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.⁴⁷ Its descriptions have been

⁴⁷ The following additional remarks concern the names listed in column 1a of Table 3. Name no. 4: There is no description of *daṇḍāsana* next to the name. Its absence may be due to the fact that *daṇḍāsana* was included and described in list 1b. Name no. 11: In the list of names running down the left side of the folio, *ardhāsana* is an interlineal correction to the original name of *virāsana*. The description itself mentions *ardhāsana* (and not *virāsana*) and it is identical to the description of *ardhāsana* in the other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. Name no. 12: Both types of *svastikāsana* are found in the *Yogayājñavalkya* and quoted with attribution in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. In the Ujjain manuscript, both have been written, but the first has been crossed out by a single line. Name no. 18: All manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* quote with attribution two descriptions of *mayūrāsana*. The first is from the *Yogayājñavalkya* and the second is from the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Name no. 24: After the description of *śavāsana*, which is found in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, the Ujjain manuscript (fol. 61r) has inserted the following comment, which I have not traced to another text: “or [*śavāsana*] is as follows. Having lain supine on the ground, extending the legs and putting the hollowed hands on the chest and the gaze on the tip of the nose while visualising Śiva, the position in which [one is] on the back is *śavāsana*. This [*āsana*] is the destroyer of vitiated phlegm and the *vātagranthi*-disease in the chest, and it removes fatigue” (*yathā vā | uttānam urvyāṃ śayanam vidhāya prasārya pādau karasaṃpuṭam hr̥di | nāsāgram ādhāya dr̥ṣam smaran śivam pr̥ṣṭhe sthitir yatra śavāsanam hi tat || etad dhṛdikupitakaphavātagranthivibhedakam śramaharam ca ||* Conj. *urvyāṃ* : Codex *urvyā*; Corr. Preisendanz *etad dhṛdi* : Codex *etad hr̥di*-.). Name no. 26: Three versions of *siddhāsana* are included in all manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. The first is quoted with attribution to the *Yogayājñavalkya* and the second to the *Pavanayogasaṅgraha*, though the latter version probably derives from the *Viveka-mārtaṇḍa*. The third version is quoted without attribution and I am yet to trace it to another yoga text: “Having placed the left ankle on the penis and the other ankle on that, this is *Siddhāsana*” (*medhrād upari vinyasya savyam gulphaṃ tathopari | gulphāntaram tu vinyasya siddhāsanam idaṃ bhavet ||* Emend. *medhrād* : Codex *medrād*). Name no. 27: All

quoted and attributed to various Sanskrit texts written before the sixteenth century. The Ujjain manuscript extends our knowledge of *āsana*-s practised in the seventeenth century by providing lists 1b, 2 and 3. List 1b consists of the twenty-eight *āsana*-s that have been added to list 1a.⁴⁸ List 2 adds thirty-nine *āsana*-s to lists 1a and 1b.⁴⁹ List 3 adds another seventeen, which yields a total of one hundred and eighteen *āsana*-s in the Ujjain manuscript.⁵⁰ Therefore, the

manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* quote with attribution this version of the bound lotus from the *Yogayājñavalkya*. However, the Ujjain manuscript is unique in using the name *padmāsanaṃ baddham*. Name no. 28: Quoted with attribution to the *Mataṅgaḥ*. Name no. 29: The *Yogacintāmaṇi* quotes these two versions of *padmāsana* and attributes the first to the *Hāṭhayaoga*, though this version of *padmāsana*, which involves holding the big toes with the hands, is found in the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and the *Hāṭhapradīpikā*. The second, which does not involve holding the toes, is attributed to the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*. The Ujjain manuscript is unique in using the name *padmāsanaṃ kevalam*.

48 In regard to list 1b, the name *nyubja* (no. 20 in column 1b of Table 3) is a conjecture. See n. 150.

49 A number of names in column 2 of Table 3 are in need of further explanations and comments. Name no. 14: The name *krauñcaniśadana* is followed by *bhāṣyagranthane*, which refers to the inclusion of this posture in the commentary (*bhāṣya*) of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. Name no. 20: Conj. *kumbhīra* : Codex *kumbhī+na*. The ligature following *bhī* appears to be crossed out. I have conjectured *kumbhī[rāsa]na* based on a similar name in the third list. Name no. 31: A pose by the name *granthibhedakāsana* is quite conceivable (i. e., “the *āsana* of piercing the knots”), and might be a precedent for *granthibhedanāsana* apparently reported in the *Sacitra Cauryaśin Asana*, the *Śrīyogakaustubha*, the *Kiraṇaṭikā* and the *Yogamārgapradīpa* (Gharote et al. 2006: 117–118). However, the scribe of the Ujjain manuscript has inserted the number 32 between *granthi* and *bhedaka*, and I cannot see a reason for this. Name no. 39: Emend. *nyubja* : Codex *nyubhja*. Name no. 48: Emend. *brāhmaṇādi* : Codex *brahmaṇādi*. Name no. 61: The manuscript is unclear here. I can only be certain of the following ligatures: ++*tradoṣaharapātya*. This could be a scribal comment, rather than the name of an *āsana* because it has *śivagītāyaṃ* (i. e., “in the *Śivagītā*”) written underneath it. Name no. 71: The number “2” is written in the manuscript (see Fig. 1). Name no. 78: Diagnostic Conj. *jñāna-bodha* : Codex ++*bodhaḥ*. I have conjectured *jñānabodhaḥ* on the basis that ++*bodhaḥ* has been written in the table’s cell for *āsana*-s beginning with *jñā* and *jñānabodha* appears in the third list.

50 Several names listed in column 3 require further explanations: Name no. 1: *anantāsana* is the only *āsana* to be described. Folio 63r: “Patañjali’s aphorism [states], ‘Or meditative absorption in Ananta brings about *āsana*.’ From this statement, the cause of *āsana* is [said to be] *samādhi*, in which the mind is on one thing, fixed [in this case] only on Ananta the leader of snakes, on whom the earth is held by his one thousand hoods, [so that] *āsana* becomes what will be described as steady and a cause of comfort” (*anante vā samāpattir āsanaṃ nirvartayati iti patañjalisūtram anante nāganāyake vidhṛtasahasraṇḍāharāmaṇḍale eva nīścalaḥ samādhir ekacittāḥ sthiraṃ vakṣyamāṇam āsanaṃ sukhakaram ca bhavati ity āśanākāraṇam ukteḥ* || Conj. -*phaṇādharaṇḍale eva* : Codex -*phaṇāsu dharāmaṇḍale iva*. Emend. -*kāraṇam* : Codex -*karaṇam*). This description appears to have been based on a comment in Vācaspatimiśra’s *Tattvavaiśārādī* 2.47 ([...] *anante vā nāganāyake sthīratara-phaṇāśahasravidhṛtaviśvaṃbharāmaṇḍale samāpannaṃ cittam āsanaṃ nirvartayati*). Name no. 10: Beneath *eṇāsana*, there is an obscure comment, which has been slightly indented: *kādeḥ yogahitaṃ*. The first compound appears to point out that several *āsana*-s which have names beginning with *ka* follow at this point in the list. However, I am not sure what the second compound *yogahita* has to do with this. Name no. 11: Emend. *kūrmottā-*

Ujjain manuscript contains an additional eighty-four *āsana*-s to the thirty-four in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (i. e., list 1a). Eight of these have been taken from Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvavaiśārādī*. However, I am yet to find the names of the other seventy-six additional *āsana*-s in any yoga text dated before the sixteenth century.

There are two more important pieces of information on *āsana* practice in the Ujjain manuscript. The first occurs in the description of *naḍāsana* (the “reed pose”) in list 1b. Its initial comment indicates that the pose and, perhaps, those that follow it were taught by Mohanadāsa: *naḍāsanaṃ mohanadāsenokte*⁵¹ | [...] ||.

A second similar comment is found on the folio on which this same list ends (i. e., 67r). At the centre top of the folio, as though it were a heading, is written the name of a yogi: *lakṣmaṇadāsa-varayogī*. Thus, it appears that the *āsana*-s numbered 44–49 have been attributed to Mohanadāsa and those numbered 50–54 to Lakṣmaṇadāsa. Also, a marginal comment at the beginning of the section

na : Codex *kūrmottāne*. Name no. 14: Emend. *baddhapadmaṃ* : Codex *paddhapadmaṃ*. Name no. 15: The entry for *krauñcaniṣadana* on folio 64r has been split in half, with *krauñcaniṣa* written above *danaṃ bhāṣye*. For an explanation of the word *bhāṣya* in a similar context, see note 48 on name no. 14 in column 2. Name no. 17: Monier-Williams (1899) cites *kāmuka* (s. v.) as a variant reading of *kārmuka*. Name no. 19: Diagnostic Conj. *kalevara* : Codex *kalera*. The word *kalera* (fol. 64r) is not found in any of the dictionaries. I have tentatively conjectured *kalevara*, but an *āsana* by this name is not attested elsewhere, as far as I am aware. Name no. 30: Under *granthibheda* (fol. 65r), three numbers separated by *danḍa*-s have been written: 21 | 7 | 4. Name no. 32: *kumbhīrāsana* and the four names following it have been written upside down on the right-hand side of folio 65r. Name no. 37: Emend. *candra*: Codex *cāndra*. Name no. 42: *khecarakāraka* and the four *āsana*-s following it have been written upside down on the right side of folio 65v. Name no. 45: Emend. *kālavaśakara* : Codex *kālavaśakera*. Name no. 52: *granthibhedāsanaṃ* 32 and the four *āsana*-s following it have been written upside down on the right side of folio 66r. Note that the number “32” written after *granthibhedāsanaṃ* corresponds to the number written between *granthi* and *bhedaka* in name no. 31 in column 2. Name no. 64: The manuscript has *prāṇādyāsanaṇi* 5. The plural suggests that this may be referring to more than one *āsana*, perhaps, one for each of the five *prāṇa*-s. Name no. 65: The word *varṇa* and the number 4 indicate four *āsana*-s, one for each of the castes. Name no. 66: One must wonder whether this is a reference to a fifth caste (i. e., the untouchables). Name no. 76: There is a faint marginal comment under *yonyāsanaṃ* (fol. 65br): *śivahitāyāṃ pātha* [||]. Name no. 77: *jātyāsana* and the two *āsana*-s following it have been written upside down on the right side of folio 65bv. Name no. 82: The first ligature *vī* is unclear. In fact, this name appears to have been written over another word, which makes it difficult to read. Name no. 87: *candrāsana* and the six *āsana*-s following it have been written upside down on the right side of fol. 66br. Name no. 93: Emend. *brāhmaṇa* : Codex *brahmaṇa*. I presume that this is a repetition of *brāhmaṇādīvarṇa* 4 (entry 65). Name no. 106: Diagnostic Conj. *jñānavistara* : Codex *vistara*. I have conjectured *jñānavistara* for *vistara* based on the fact that the poses preceding it begin with *jñāna* and the name *jñānavistara* is attested in list 2. The four entries below *vistara* appear to form a comment and may not be names of *āsana*: *evaṃ mā+trā++am lakṣaṇaṃ lekhyam* [||]. I have excluded them from the list.

51 This comment is on fol. 62r.

on *āsana* quotes Lakṣmaṇadāsa, which suggests that his teachings may be connected in some way to the *āsana*-s that were added to the first list (i. e., list 1b).⁵² The *dāsa* suffix indicates these two yogis were Vaiṣṇava. The fact that their *āsana*-s were added to a compilation on yoga authored by a Śaiva Advaitavedāntin demonstrates the willingness of yogis to combine yoga techniques from Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions.⁵³ Also, apart from the attributions to mythical sages such as Vasiṣṭha and Yājñavalkya, the above attribution may be unique inasmuch as it ascribes specific *āsana*-s to what appears to be more recent yogis.

Though the additional *āsana*-s in the Ujjain manuscript are not found in earlier Sanskrit yoga texts, there are striking parallels in an illustrated manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* held at the Chester Beatty Library.⁵⁴ This Persian manuscript has been dated to c 1600–1605 CE by art historians,⁵⁵ and its text is a Persian rendering of an Arabic translation of a supposed Sanskrit yoga text called the *Amṛtakunḍa*. Its fourth chapter describes and illustrates twenty-two yogic practices, some of which are *āsana*-s and others are *prāṇāyāma*-s performed in non-seated *āsana*-s.

The parallels occur with several of the *āsana*-s attributed to Mohanadāsa.⁵⁶ One example is *śūnyāsana*, which is depicted in the following detail of a painted folio in the Chester Beatty manuscript.

If one compares the image of Figure 2 to the description of *śūnyāsana* in the Ujjain manuscript, the similarities are clear:

Śūnyāsana: Having clenched the fists of both hands and then having placed them on the ground, the yogi should raise [his body] up into the air and exclaim “alakṣya”. Having

52 YC, ms. no. 3537, fol. 58v, bottom margin: “Lakṣmaṇasvarayogī says, ‘By eating sea salt and pepper, success in all *āsana*-s [is obtained], but not by [eating] rock salt.’ Because of this, itching is [also] cured” (*saindhavamariṇicabhakṣaṇena sarvāsanasiddhir na tu lavaṇaṇeti lakṣmaṇasvarayogī || tena kaṇḍūnāśaḥ*).

53 An earlier example of this is the Śaiva-orientated *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which, as noted above, incorporated verses on *āsana*-s from the Vaiṣṇava *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*.

54 I wish to thank James Mallinson for pointing out to me the parallels between the Ujjain manuscript and the illustrations in the Chester Beatty manuscript. Ernst (2003: 221, n. 47) has noted that this manuscript is not the only one with illustrations. He says: “Several manuscripts of the Persian translation contain miniature illustrations of the twenty-one asanas. One of these MSS is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, another is in the Salar Jung Library in Hyderabad, a third is in the private collection of Simon Digby, and the fourth has recently been acquired by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.”

55 Leach 1995: 556.

56 Of the six *āsana*-s attributed to Mohanadāsa, the names of five correspond to names of yogic practices in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*; i. e., *garbhāsana*, *stambhāsana*, *śūnyāsana*, *haṃsāsana* and *naulyāsana*. The last is called *bunawli* in the Chester Beatty manuscript, but some of the other manuscripts of the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* call it *nauli* (personal communication Mallinson, 9 April 2014).



Figure 2: Śūnyāsana in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*, fol. 27v.

taken the big toe of the left foot on the left elbow [and the right big toe on the right elbow⁵⁷], he should put the weight [of his body on the elbows].⁵⁸

The fact that some of the poses of the Ujjain manuscript are in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* confirms that these *āsana*-s existed in India in the seventeenth century. In many cases, the pictures of the Chester Beatty manuscript are invaluable for explaining the often obscure and corrupt Sanskrit descriptions of the *āsana*-s attributed to Mohanadāsa. A good example of this is *garbhāsana*. The Ujjain manuscript merely says:

The *garbhāsana*: Just as the shape of a foetus, so is [the shape of *garbhāsana*]. In it, one ought to do *nirañjanakriyā* and repetition [of a mantra] such as so 'ham and the like.⁵⁹

The Ujjain manuscript does not explain the term *nirañjanakriyā*. This practice is, however, described at length in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*, and *garbhāsana* is illustrated in the Chester Beatty manuscript.

The position of the yogi in *garbhāsana* is depicted in Figure 3. He is hunched over with his hands on his ears and his head between his knees. The following description is a translation of the Persian by Carl Ernst:⁶⁰

57 It is clear from the illustration in the Chester Beatty manuscript as well as the description in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* that the right elbow and leg are required for *śūnyāsana*.

58 Fol. 62v: *śūnyāsanam – karadvayamuṣṭī baddhvā tataḥ prthivyāṃ samsthāpyāntarikṣam utthāpyālakṣyaṃ rāṭed iti || vāmacaraṇāṅguṣṭhaṃ gṛhītvā vāmakūrpāre bhāraṃ dadyāt || iti ||*.

59 Fol. 62r: *garbhāsanam – garbhasamsthānaṃ yathā tathā tat | tatra nirañjanakriyā kartavyā | so 'ham ityāder japaḥ ||* Corr. Preisendanz *ityāder : Codex ityādeḥ*.

60 The Smithsonian Institute has posted on its website Ernst's translations of the yogic practices in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. His translation of *garbhāsana* is available at <http://www.asia.si.edu/explore/yoga/chapter-4-bahr-al-hayat.asp#seven> (accessed 15 July 2014).



Figure 3: *Garbhāsana* in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*, fol. 18r.

The word of recollection of *Niranjan*. When the seeker wishes to perform this activity, he should learn the *Gharba āsana*. They call it the *Gharba āsana* because when the child is in the womb of the mother it accomplishes it. One places the left foot on the right foot, holding the buttocks on both feet, holding the head evenly between the two knees, placing both elbows under the ribs, putting the hands over the ears, bringing the navel toward the spine. The breath of life (Ar. *ramq*) that appears from the navel they call *Niranjan*, which is an expression for the undifferentiated (*lā ta'ayyun*). One holds the breath; one brings it in the midst of the belly. One takes it above from below, and below from above, in this exercise to such a degree that the inner eye, winged imagination, wandering reflection, and incomparable thought – all four – emerge from their restrictions. They enter witnessing of the spiritual state and become one.

The fact that the Ujjain manuscript and the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* both connect *nirañjanakriyā* with *garbhāsana* strongly suggests that they were drawing from the same system of yoga, which must have been prominent enough in the seventeenth century to have come to the notice of the Moghul court. The Ujjain manuscript does not provide us with a clear description of these practices. However, a description is found in another unpublished eighteenth-century Sanskrit yoga text called the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (HSC). This voluminous work was composed by an erudite Brahman named Sundaradeva who lived in Vārāṇasī.⁶¹ His description of *nirañjanakarma*⁶² and *garbhāsana* has un-

61 The location of Sundaradeva, who was a Brahmin from the south, is confirmed by the final colophon of the HSC, ms. no. 2244, fol. 145v: “So ends the tenth chapter, called the explanation of the no-mind state, in the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, [which] was written by the physician Sundaradeva, the son of Govindadeva and the grandson of Viśvanāthadeva. Located in Kāśī, he was the ornament of southern Brahmins and sacred to the Kāśyapa clan” (*iti śrīkāśyapagotrāpavitradākṣiṇātyadvijalālāmakāśīsthaviśvanāthadevapautragovindadevasutasundaradevavidyaviracitāyāṃ haṭhasaṅketacandrikāyāṃ amanaskatvavivecanaṃ nāmo-padeśo daśamaḥ saṃpūrṇeyāṃ haṭhavidhicandrikā* [||] Corr. Preisendanz -padeśo : Codex -padeśaḥ; Emend. daśamaḥ : Codex daśaḥ).

62 Elsewhere in this chapter on *prāṇāyāma* in the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, other practices are

mistakable similarities to the descriptions and illustration of these practices in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. The parallels in the translation are set in bold:

Now, the *āsana* in which the “spotless action” [is performed]. Just as a child curls up and remains in a foetal position, so the yogi should practise ***nirañjanakarma* in the foetal pose. Having put the left foot on the right**, he should cover the **buttocks with the heels** and then move *apānavāyu* forcefully upwards again and again. Gradually he should put his **head on his knees**, draw the **navel into the back** [of the body,] **cover the ears and eyes with the hands** and remain thus. Then, a faint sound rises directly up from his navel and a pure and subtle light shines in front of him. **The breath, having been restrained in the stomach, moves for a while in the abdomen. Having gone up again into the head, it goes [down] for a while into the stomach.** When this technique of meditation on the pure [light] is continually performed, the best of yogis sees the hidden Brahma revealed. Passions along with desires disappear because of the yogi’s practice [of this technique]. So too, delusion and impurity, and the individual soul becomes one with Śiva.⁶³

Not only is the posture the same, but also the cyclical movement of the breath between the abdomen and head. In the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, *nirañjanakarmāsana* is included in the section on *prāṇāyāma*, and there are further parallels between yogic practices in this section and those of the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. These include *bhujāṅgakarmāsanakumbha* and *haṁsakarmāsanaprāṇāyāma* in the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, which are similar to *Bhuvangam* and *Hans* respectively in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. Sundaradeva describes *bhujāṅgakarmāsanakumbha* as follows:

This has been taught in the scripture on [prognostication by means of the] breath [called] the *Svarodaya*: Having stood on both knees and having firmly closed the mouth, the wise man, [who] is very focused, should master the breath [flowing] through both

called *kriyā* (e.g., *pūrakakriyā*). So, *karma* (i.e., “action”) is simply a synonym for *kriyā* in this context.

- 63 HSC, ms. no. R3239, fols. 167–168 and ms. no. 2244, fol. 84r: *atha nirañjanakarmāsanam || bālako garbhaśayyāyāṁ tiṣṭhet saṅkucito yathā | tathā garbhāsane yogī nirañjanavidhiṁ bhajet || 124 || dattvā dakṣāṅghrau vāmāṅghriṁ pārśṇibhyāṁ rundhayet sphijau | apānam ūrdhvaṁ ca kuryād vāraṁ vāraṁ tato balāt || 125 || jānvante mastakam dattvā nābhiṁ prṣṭhe vikarṣayet | pārśṇibhyāṁ cchādayet karṇau netre tiṣṭhet iti kramāt || 126 || tadā nābheḥ sakāśāt tu śabdo ’syottiṣṭhate sa ’nuḥ | nirañjanam jyotir agre sūkṣmaṁ cāsyā parisphuret || 127 || ruddho ’ntar udare vāyur jaṭharāntar bhraman muḥ | ūrdhvaṁ gatvā mastakānte muhur yāty udarāntare || 128 || śāśvad vidhim imaṁ kṛtvā nirañjanavicintanam | labhate brahma yad guptaṁ prakāṣaṁ sādhakottamaḥ || 129 || naśyanti kāmabhiḥ kopā abhyāsenāsya yoginaḥ | moho malinatā naśyec chivajīvaikyatā bhavet || 130 || iti nirañjanakarmāsanam ||* Variant readings: 125a–b *dakṣāṅghrau vāmāṅghriṁ pārśṇibhyāṁ rundhayet sphijau* | 2244 : *datvā dakṣāṅghrivāmāṅghripārśṇibhyāṁ rundhayet sinau* 3239. 126d *iti kramāt* | Diagnostic Conj. : *iti kramaiḥ* 2244 : *atikramaiḥ* 3239. 127a–b *sakāśāt tu śabdo ’syottiṣṭhate sa ’nuḥ* 2244 : *sakāśātva śabdo ’syottiṣṭhakonyanuḥ* 3239. 127d *cāsyā parisphuret* | 2244 : *vāra ca parisphuret* 3239. 128a *ruddho ’ntar* | 2244 : *randhrātar* 3239. 128a *vāyur* | 2244 : *vāyu* 3239. 128b *jaṭharāntar bhraman muḥ* | emend. : *jaṭharāṁrbhraman muḥ* 2244 : *jaṭharābhramaran maruḥ* 3239.

nostrils. Having drawn the breath into the navel, he should practise in reverse. Having turned it upwards, the sage should repeatedly force it [further up]. When he knows [the breath] is situated at the tenth [door at the crown of the head], he should gradually release it. When the breath has gone below the navel, then, having again turned it upwards by that same action, he should draw it [further] upwards. If the disciplined ascetic does this technique repeatedly, he first balances nasal dominance (*svara*).⁶⁴ The practitioner should hold the breath according to his capacity, [doing so] gradually, not hurriedly. By this method, he should inhale deeply and gradually. Having given his mind to this action, the practitioner should accomplish it. When [this] action has been mastered, then, having held the breath for up to one day, he should remain comfortably [for longer] in order to increase his progress in the practice. As the yogi holds the breath, making it longer, so he should stop it from moving out for five or six days. By this [method] the practitioner certainly gains a long life. Thus, the retention in [this] practice is called the *āsana* whose action is like a serpent's.⁶⁵

The Persian description of the “serpent” practice (*bhuvāṅga*) in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* has clear parallels (marked in bold) with the above passage:

The word of recollection of *bhuvangam*. When one wishes to perform the *bhuvangam* practice – and *bhuvangam* is the expression for the serpent (*mār*) – just as the serpent inhales, the wayfarer must act according to this path and comprehend it. **He sits on both**

64 I am not sure of the meaning of *svaram yāvat tu bibhryāt*. I have understood *svara* as nasal dominance according to its use in *Svaraśāstra*, in which this technique is supposedly taught. However, I am yet to find another instance of the verb *bhṛ* with this meaning in a yoga text.

65 HSC, ms. no. R3239, fols. 165–166 and ms. no. 2244, fol. 83r–83v: *tad uktaṃ svarodaye svaraśāstre || sthitvā jñanudvaye vaktram ārudhya sudṛḍham sudhīḥ | nāsārandhrayugād vāyūṃ sādhayet susamāhitaḥ || 106 || ākr̥ṣya vāyūṃ nābhyaṃtām vidadhīta vilomataḥ | parāvṛtyordhvaṃ ādadyād balena satataṃ munīḥ || 107 || daśamāntagataṃ jñātvā śanair anu ca mocayet | yadā nābher adho yāto vāyus taṃ tu tadā punaḥ || 108 || amunā karma-ṇaivordhvaṃ parāvṛtyordhvaṃ āharet | amuṃ vidhiṃ yaśi muhuḥ karoty abhyāsavān yatīḥ || 109 || svaram tāvat tu bibhryād yāvacchakti samīraṇam | samrodhayet sādako 'yaṃ śanair na tvarayā punaḥ || 110 || anena vidhinā bhūri gṛhṇīyāt pūrakaṃ śanaiḥ | asyām kriyāyāṃ hṛd dattvā sādhaḥ sādhayet kriyām || 111 || yadā haste kriyā yātā tadā hy ekadināvadhi | ruddhvā tiṣṭhet sukhaṃ vāyūṃ abhyāsakramaṃ vardhitum || 112 || ya-thādhiḥ svaram yogī kurvan samrodhayet tathā | vāyūṃ śaṭpañcadivasān rodhayet ba-hiścarāt || 113 || anena dīrgham āyusyaṃ sādhaḥ bhaved dhruvam iti || bhujāṅga-karmāsanākhyo 'bhyāsakumbhakaḥ ||. Variant readings: *svaraśāstre*] 3239 : *svaraśāstre bhujāṅgākarmāsanakumbhakaḥ* 2244. 106b *ārudhya*] Conj. : *āmuḍya* 2244, 3239. 106d *sādhayet*] 3239 : *sādhayot* 2244. 107a *vāyūṃ*] 2244 : *vāyu* 3239. 107b *vidadhīta vilomataḥ*] Diagnostic Conj. Mallinson: *vidhāyāvilomataḥ* (hypometrical) 2244 : *vidhāyād avilomataḥ* 3239. 107d *munīḥ*] 2244 : *munā* 3239. 108a *daśamāntagataṃ*] 3239 : *daśamānte gataṃ* 2244. 108b *anu ca mocayet*] 2244 : *anu ca yācayet* 3239. 110a *tāvat tu bibhryād*] Conj. : *yāvat tu bibhryād* 2244 : *yāvad bibhryā* 3239. 111a *vidhinā bhūri*] Corr. : *vidhinād bhūri* 2244 : *vidhinā mūri* 3239. 111b *sādhaḥ sādhayet*] 2244 : *sādhakās sādhaḥ* 3239. 112a *haste kriyā yātā*] 2244 : *hase kriyā mātā* 3239. 112b *tadā hy ekadināvadhi*] 2244 : *tadā ekadināvadhi* 3239. 112c *ruddhvā*] 2244 : *raddhvā* 3239. 112d *abhyāsakramaṃ vardhitum*] 3239 : *vāyūṃ krama 'bhyāsakramavardhitaṃ* (hypermetrical) 2244. 113b *kurvan*] 2244 : *kurvant* 3239. 113d *carāt*] 3239 : *caret* 2244. *bhujāṅgākarmāsanākhyo*] 2244 : *bhujāṅgākarmāsanābhyo* 3239.*

knees, holding the mouth closed; he inhales by way of the nostrils, taking it beneath the navel, bringing it up from the navel by force to the base of the brain. From there, gradually one releases it, and it reaches below the navel. Again one brings up by force, and one repeats this in this manner, as long as one is able. One holds the breath that was mentioned, not letting it go out by way of the nostril and mouth. When one is no longer able [to hold it], one lets out the breath by way of the nostrils with a loud voice, again from the top, and just as is mentioned, **one begins [again]. Some practitioners carry this subtle practice to such an extent that they remain for one or two days with a single breath, and some do more.**⁶⁶

There are also loose parallels between *haṃsakarmāsanaprāṇāyāma* in the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and *Hans* in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. The former states:

In his body, †[...]† the wise man should hold a *vajramallaka*. [With his senses] controlled, he should begin the practice of *Haṃsa* without attachment to the world. He should then hold his hips, back and upper limbs straight. [With his mind] focused, he should place one shin above the [other] shin. He should firmly place the heel of his left foot on the base of the right knee, and he should fix the heel of his right foot with the left knee. He should repeat the *ajapā* [mantra], while perceiving the nature of *Haṃsa*. *Haṃsa* is the self in the form of the breath. He should meditate on it as the self. By means of *Haṃsa*'s *āsana*,⁶⁷ the sage who is constantly meditating on *Haṃsa* and repeating the mantra, "*Haṃsa, Haṃsa*," will obtain his own nature. [Such yogis] destroy impurity, dullness and diseases as well as [other] impurities. Thus, *prāṇāyāma* [performed] in *haṃsakarmāsana* is useful for purification of the channels [of vitality in the body].⁶⁸

The relevant section of the description of *Hans* in the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* (parallels are in bold) is as follows:

[...] The posture of this practice (*karma*) they call *sahaj āsana*; let it be unveiled! **One holds the head, waist, and back even, and one meditates, placing one shin over the other, holding the left ankle under the point of the right knee, and placing the right**

66 The translation by Ernst is available at <http://www.asia.si.edu/explore/yoga/chapter-4-bahr-al-hayat.asp#fifteen> (accessed 15 July 2014).

67 In this context, the term *pīṭha* is a synonym for *āsana*. Cf. HP 1.29, 32, 41 and 70.

68 HSC, ms. No. R3239, fols. 165–166 and ms. No. 2244, fol. 83r–83v: *aṅge †bhūtipurālāpya† dhārayed vajramallakam | viḥāya lokasaṅgam jño haṃsakarmārabhed vaśi || 119 || kaṭipṛṣṭhottamāṅgāni samāni bibhryāt tataḥ | samāhitas saṃvidadhyāt piṇḍikopari piṇḍikām || 120 || dakṣajānutale vāmapatpārṣṇim sthāpayed dṛḍham | dakṣāṅghripārṣṇikam vāmajānūnā parikalpayet || 121 || ajapām prajaped dhaṃsasvarūpaṃ sa samikṣayan | svararūpo haṃsa ātmā tam ātmānam vicintayet || 122 || anena haṃsapīṭhena haṃsaṃ dhyāyan japan manum | haṃsa haṃseti satatam svarūpaṃ munir āpnuyāt || 123 || mālīnyajādatārogān naśyanti kaluṣāṇi ceti | iti haṃsakarmāsanaprāṇāyāmo nāḍīśuddhyupayogikah ||* Variant readings: 119c *lokasaṅgam*] 2244 : *lokasaṅga* 3239. 120d *piṇḍikopari piṇḍakām*] 2244 : *piṇḍakopari piṇḍakim* 3239. 121a *dakṣajānutale*] 2244 : *dakṣapādātale* 3239. 122a *-japed dhaṃsa-*] Corr. Preisendanz : *-japed haṃsa-* Codex. 123a *haṃsapīṭhena haṃsaṃ*] 2244 : *haṃsayogena hasan* 3239. 124b *mālīnyajādatārogān naśyanti*] Corr. : *mālīnyajādatārogān naśyanti* 3239 : *mālīnyajādatārogān syanti* (hypometrical) 2244. I wish to thank James Mallinson for his comments on the above passages from the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*.

ankle under the point of the left knee, clasping both hands together. When exhaling, one says *hans*, and *hans* is an expression for “the spiritual Lord” (Ar. *rabb rūḥī*). When inhaling, one says *so ham*, and *so ham* is the expression for “Lord of Lords” (Ar. *rabb al-arbāb*) [...].⁶⁹

These *kriyā*-s, which combine elaborate *prāṇāyāma* techniques with complex *āsana*-s, demonstrate the growing sophistication of Haṭha Yoga techniques after the sixteenth century, in addition to the proliferation of *āsana*-s evinced by the Ujjain manuscript. Far from falling into decline, the techniques of Haṭha Yoga evolved as they were appropriated by erudite Brahmins, such as Sundaradeva, whose work must have made Haṭha Yoga more accessible and appealing to a learned audience.

3.2. The *Haṭhapradīpikā-Siddhāntamuktāvalī*

The second unpublished manuscript discussed in the present chapter is an extended version of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. This work is also called the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* in its colophons. It has six chapters and a total of 1553 verses, which is over a thousand more than the number of verses in standard versions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. A scribal comment after the final colophon indicates clearly that the manuscript was completed in *saṃvat* 1765 (1708 CE).⁷⁰ Therefore, the extra verses of this text provide a window into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The chapter on *āsana* describes more than eighty-two postures in addition to the fifteen in the standard *Haṭhapradīpikā*.⁷¹ The names of the additional *āsana*-s are listed in Table 4. Those from the *Haṭhapradīpikā* are marked by an asterisk (*).⁷²

69 The translation by Ernst is available at <http://www.asia.si.edu/explore/yoga/chapter-4-bahr-al-hayat.asp#four> (accessed 15 July 2014).

70 SMĀ fol. 171v, ll. 2–7: *iti śrīsaḥajanāthasīsyena śrīsvātmārāmayogīndreṇa viracitāyām haṭhapradīpikāyām siddhāntamuktāvalīyām śaṣṭhopadeśaḥ || iti || śrīmanmahārājādhīrāja-jīśrījayasīmhadēvajīkasyājñāyā likhitaṃ idaṃ tulārāmeṇa || saṃvat 1765 varṣe caitre māse kṛṣṇe pakṣe 10*. The date corresponds to Sunday, 4 April 1708 in the *amānta* naming system.

71 For the descriptions of the *āsana*-s, see SMĀ, ms. no. 6756, fols. 26r, l. 6 – 49v, l. 7. The exact number of *āsana*-s in this manuscript cannot be calculated owing to a missing folio (i.e., fol. 31) which would have descriptions of another 3–4 postures.

72 On the names of *āsana*-s listed in Table 4 the following explanations and philological observations are necessary. No. 1: The first description of *svastikāsana* is that of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The second, which is quoted without attribution, is identical with that in the *Yogayājñavalkya*. No. 5: The first description of *gomukhāsana* is that of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The second, which is quoted without attribution, is identical with that in the *Yogayājñavalkya*. No. 18: The first description of *pāścimatānāsana* is that of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. A second follows, which is identical with the description in the *Śivasamhitā*. No. 19: The term *kandoraka* may be a wrong spelling for *kandūraka*. No. 28: This *āsana* is spelt *jaityāsana* in

No.	Name	No.	Name
1	svastika (2)*	48	prabhākara
2	vīra*	49	jarā
3	agnikuṇḍa	50	siṃhamukha
4	yoginī	51	nāgaphaṇa
5	gomukha (2)*	52	brahma
6	tūra	53	kurārī
7	kaṅkaṇa	54	cakravāka
8	gandharva	55	vaiśākhī
9	śiva	56	cakora
10	savitṛisamādhi	57	koka
11	maṇibandha	58	śukakīra
12	padmaprakāśa	59	ākāśatāna
13	padmaśaṅkha	60	kuhī
14	padmanābhabandha	61	kilakila
15	bhairava	62	daṃśa
16	matsyendra*	63	siddhamuktāvalī
17	matsyendrapīṭhabandha	64	kukkuṭa*
18	paścimatāna (2)*	65	mayūra*
19	kandoraka	66	mastaka
20	yoni	67	ātmārāma
†...†	(missing folio)	68	mṛttikābhañjaka
21	vibhūṣā	69	phoḍya
22	saptarṣi	70	bhagalabandha
23	kadali	71	nidrānāśana
24	pūrva	72	[uttāna]kūrma*
25	tryambaka	73	vṛścika

the heading but *jityāsana* within the verse itself. No. 33: Also spelt *gorakṣajāñjālaka* within the verse itself. No. 50: Diagnostic Conj. *siṃhamukhāsana* : Codex *sihamurgāsana*. The name of this *āsana* is doubtful because the heading is *sihamurgāsana*, but the name within the verse itself is *pakṣyāsana*, which is also the name of another *āsana* in this text (see No. 74). The word *siha* is a Prakrit form of *siṃha* but I am not sure of *murga*. It might be a corruption of *mārga*, but *siṃhamukha* occurs in many texts and makes better sense in the context of *āsana*. No. 53: In the heading for the verse, this *āsana* is misspelt as *kurakalāsana*. In the verse itself, the name is *kuraryāsana*. No. 58: This *āsana* is referred to as *śukakīra* in the heading but as *śukāsana* within the verse itself. No. 62: Emend. *daṃśa* : Codex *ḍaṃśa*. No. 71: Emend. *nidrānāśanaṃ* : Codex *nidrānāśanaṃ*. No. 72: The heading for this pose is *kūrmāsana*, but the verse following it is the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s verse on *uttānakūrmāsana*. No. 77: *pāradhika* is spelt as *pāradhī āsana* in the heading and *pāradhika* in the verse itself. No. 79: The heading has *gohī āsana* but the verse describes *śiśumārāsana*. The former may be an alternate name for the latter. No. 81: The heading has *ḍṛkṣāsana* but the name in the verse is *nāśa-graḍṛkṣāsana*.

(Continued)

No.	Name	No.	Name
26	śoṣa	74	pakṣi
27	tikṣṇa	75	abhika
28	jaityāsana	76	ājagara
29	bhaga	77	pāradhika
30	kūrma	78	ūrṇanābhi
31	pañkaja	79	śiśumāra
32	pārvaṭi	80	kapālī
33	gorakṣajañjali	81	nāsāgradṛkṣa
34	kapila	82	tapa
35	kāka	83	saṅgrāma
36	garuḍa	84	valijasya
37	aghora	85	vikāṭa
38	jāmā	86	karma
39	sārasa	87	nāgabodha
40	dhātra	88	haṃsa
41	liṅga	89	sarpa
42	prṣṭhabandha	90	madhupa
43	viṣṇu	91	siddha (2)*
44	gopī	92	padma (2)*
45	vaitālanāma	93	siṃha*
46	gaṇeśa	94	bhadra*
47	yogapadayoga	95	śava*

Table 4: The names of *āsana*-s taught in the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*.

Over half of the additional poses are unique and some others resemble postures in other yoga texts, but have unique names. This extended version of the *Haṭhāpradīpikā* is further proof of the continuing innovation and growth of *āsana* practice in Haṭha Yoga during the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, until another manuscript of it is found, it is unlikely to be published because the only available manuscript from Rajasthan is heavily tainted by scribal errors and is missing three folios.

3.3. The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*

The third unpublished manuscript is of a text called the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*. Its opening lines leave no question as to the name of the author and the work:

For those afflicted by the pain of Samsara; those completely attached to sense objects; those obsessed with women; those fallen from their caste and [even] those who do rather egregious actions;⁷³ for their sake, this *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* was composed by Kapālakuraṇṭaka. Its topics and the techniques of the practice are written [here].⁷⁴

In spite of the problems with the above Sanskrit sentence as it appears in the manuscript,⁷⁵ the name of the author and the title of the work are clear.⁷⁶ The

73 The meaning of *sāhasakarma* is not entirely clear here. As a broad category classifying actions, *sāhasa* can include various crimes of violence and cruelty, ranging from destruction of property and irrigation canals to adultery, rape and murder. For further examples, see the *sāhasaprakaraṇa* (p. 74) of the *Vyavahāramālā* (I wish to thank Shaman Hatley for this reference). However, in the context of Haṭha Yoga, the term can mean just “bold” or “rash”. In the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.16), *sāhasa* is mentioned as a positive characteristic of the haṭhayogi. It is understood by Brahmānanda in his *Jyotsnā* as: “*sāhasa* is acting boldly, having not considered whether [the action] can or cannot be accomplished” (*sādhyatvāsādhyatve aparibhāvya sahasa pravṛttiḥ sāhasam*). The term *sāhasa* is also used in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*’s section on *vajrolīmudrā* (fol. 28r), which states, “It is sufficiently auspicious that by practising thus, by Īśvara’s compassion, by being fit for the substances, by great fortitude and by understanding the teachings of the guru, [*vajrolī*] will be perfected [even] by those whose actions are egregious” (*enam abhyāseṇa īśvaraḥ kṛpāyā dravyānulyena atidhairyeṇa sāhasakarmāṇāṃ gurūktigrahaṇena siddhā bhaviṣyatiṭy alaṃ maṅgalaṃ* || Emend. *evam* : Codex *enam*). In the context of *vajrolī*, *sāhasa* probably refers to those who do not practise celibacy (*brahmacarya*). However, in the opening lines of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* the more general meaning of *sāhasa* (i. e., egregious actions) seems to complete the range of people mentioned here, which starts with the most general category of person who needs salvation and ends with the most extreme.

74 HAP, fol. 1v, ll. 2–4: *saṃsāratāpātaptānām || atyantaviśayasaktānām || straiṇānām jātibhṛaṣṭānām || atisāhasakarmakartṛṇām || tatkr̥te || iyaṃ kapālakuraṇṭakakṛtahaṭhābhyāsapaddhatir ||* [*tadgatapadārthāḥ sādhanakarmāṇi ca likhyante* ||. I have made a number of corrections and conjectures. These are: Corr. *kartṛṇām* : Codex *kr̥ṇām*. Corr. *tatkr̥te* : Codex *tatkr̥te*. Emend. *-paddhatir* : Codex *-paddhatar*. Conj. Dominic Goodall *tadgata* : Codex *gata*-. Emend. *likhyante* : Codex *likhyate*.

75 The compounds *gatapadārthāḥ* and *sādhanakarmāṇi* are strange and incongruous with the singular verb. The *iyam* indicates that *-paddhatir* was probably the subject. The reading *-haṭhābhyāsapaddhatigatapadārthāḥ* (i. e., “those subjects in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*”) may have been intended but *iyam* and the singular verb seem to indicate otherwise. It is possible that *gatapadārthāḥ* and *sādhanakarmāṇi* are clumsy interpolations, which were made by the scribe to indicate that the text in the manuscript is only part of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (personal communication Mallinson, 4 October 2013). The fact that the manuscript has no final colophon and finishes abruptly with an explanation of *viparītakaraṇī* (i. e., the last words of the text are *viparītakaraṇīmudrā bhavati || -karaṇī-* Corr. Preisendanz : *karaṇi*- Codex) strongly suggests that it is incomplete. One would expect to find sections on *dhyāna* and *samādhi* at the end of a work like this.

76 The name Kapālakuraṇṭaka is not found in any other yoga text, as far as I am aware, but I am grateful to Mallinson for pointing out that *korāṇṭaka* is the name of one of the Siddhas known to have taught Haṭha Yoga according to HP 1.6c. The Kaivalyadhama edition (1998: 3) reports the alternate spellings of *kaurāṇṭhaka* and *kaurāṇṭaka* in its apparatus. The similar name of Korandaka for a Siddha of Haṭha Yoga is recorded in the *Haṭharatnāvalī* (1.81c), though many manuscripts of this text also have *gonandaka* (Gharote 2009: 35). In his edition of this text, Gharote speculates that the *Kapālakuraṇṭakahaṭhābhyāsapaddhati* may be ascribed to

manuscript appears to be incomplete because there is no final colophon, nor is there a scribal comment indicating the date.

The paper is unusually thin for a pre-twentieth century manuscript, which might suggest a more modern paper-making technology,⁷⁷ but it has the blemishes and uneven texture of hand-made paper. Unfortunately, the manuscript is undated. However, the text may date to the eighteenth century, based on a parallel in another text, which I shall discuss below.

A *paddhati* usually presents the “scattered instructions of a body of texts in an order that facilitates their practical application.”⁷⁸ The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* appears to be an exception to this inasmuch as it does not quote from earlier yoga texts. However, true to its designation as a *paddhati*, it does present the practice of Haṭha Yoga in a systematic way, beginning with *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *śaṭ-karma*, *prāṇāyāma* and finishing abruptly with *mudrā*. The text, as it is written in the manuscript, appears to be incomplete and may be a truncated form of an earlier work on yoga or an unfinished attempt to reorganise the contents of an earlier work into the form of a *paddhati*.⁷⁹

The section on *āsana* practice has descriptions of one hundred and twelve postures and space for illustrations that were never made. Most of the *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* are not found in earlier yoga texts, including the unpublished ones mentioned in this paper. The exceptions are a dozen or so *āsana*-s common in Haṭha texts such as the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. However, nearly all the names and descriptions of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*’s *āsana*-s are included in a more recent compendium called the *Śrītattvanidhi* (ŚTN) ascribed to a Mahārāja of Mysore who ruled from 1799 to 1868 (Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar III).⁸⁰ Therefore, the *Śrītattvanidhi* was probably written in the mid nineteenth century.

The table of contents in an early publication of the *Śrītattvanidhi* indicates that it is a digest of a number of wide-ranging topics.⁸¹ Sjoman (1999) has worked on the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s chapter on *āsana* practice. Sjoman’s book includes photographs of the illustrations of *āsana*-s from a manuscript of the *Śrītattvanidhi* held at a library in Mysore.⁸² These illustrated folios, which include the Sanskrit

this Siddha. The name may also correspond to Koraṇḍa who is listed among Siddhas in *Ānandakanda* 1.3.49c (see White 1996: 83–86).

77 I wish to thank Dominik Wujastyk for pointing this out to me (personal communication, 10 September 2013).

78 Sanderson 2004: 356–357, n. 19.

79 On the incompleteness of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, see n. 75.

80 This is according to the annals of the Mysore Palace (see Iyer & Nanjundayya 1935: 49).

81 Śrīkrṣṇadāsa 1884: 1–44.

82 One photograph appears to be from a different manuscript. Sjoman (1999: 40) says that he photographed two manuscripts at the Sarasvati Bhandar Library in Mysore. One is of the

descriptions of each *āsana* in Telugu script, indicate that the *Śrītattvanidhi* has reproduced all except one of the *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, because their descriptions are identical. However, an important difference in the presentation of *āsana* practice in these texts is the order in which they appear. In the table below, the names of the *āsana*-s have been listed according to their order in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, and their position in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is indicated by the number on the right. The one pose not in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is marked by an asterisk (*).⁸³

No./HAP	Name	No./ŚTN	No./HAP	Name	No./ŚTN
1	vṛṣapādakṣepa	81	57	mālā	44
2	parigha	11	58	haṃsa	45
3	paraśvadhā	16	59	vānara	37
4	ananta	1	60	parvata	43
5	aṅkuśa	3	61	pāśa	47
6	śvottāna	2	62	kādamba	91
7	mārjārōttāna	82	63	kāñcī	92
8	vṛka	10	64	aṅgamoṭāna	116
9	trikūṭa	21	65	ucchīrṣaka	48
10	markaṭa	83	66	(unnamed)	117
11	nauka	4	67	pādukā	41
12	tīryaṇnauka	84	68	graha	50
13	dhvaja	7	69	parpaṭa	93
14	naraka	8	70	aśva	73
15	lāṅgala	17	71	dviśīrṣa	46
16	paryaṅka	5	72	kubja	52

Śrītattvanidhi and the other is of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, the text of which is different from the well-known *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

- 83 There are a number of differences between the names of *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. These call for the following additional remarks: No. 6: This pose is called *uttāna* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 10: This pose is called *kāmapīṭhāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 47: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as *nyubjāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 48: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as *garbhāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 51: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as *dhanurāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 55: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as *pādahastasaṃyogāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 64: This pose is called *hastāṅgulibaddha* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 66: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as *hrījānusamyogāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 74: The description of this unnamed pose agrees with that of the *preṅkhāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. There are two poses by this name in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (see Sjöman 1999: 85). No. 76: This pose is called *vimalāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 86: This pose is called *uḍḍānāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. No. 95: The description of this unnamed pose is the same as that of *daṇḍāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

(Continued)

No./HAP	Name	No./STN	No./HAP	Name	No./STN
17	vetra	9	73	preñkha	94
18	kanduka	6	74	(unnamed)	118
19	uttānakūrma	85	75	utpīḍa	53
20	virata	86	76	vimāna	51
21	dr̥ṣada	21	77	kapotapiṭaka	57
22	luṭhana	20	78	ardhacandra	95
23	saraṭa	12	79	śaṅku	22
24	matsya	14	80	tāṇḍava	55
25	gaja	13	81	trivikrama	62
26	tarakṣu	15	82	utthānotthāna	106
27	ṛkṣa	18	83	āliṅga	96
28	śaśa	24	84	bālāliṅga	97
29	ratha	23	85	kaupīna	110
30	meṣa	87	86	dehalyullaṅghana	119
31	aja	25	87	hariṇa	69
32	caṭaka	26	88	musala	61
33	kāka	27	89	dhruva	56
34	tittira	29	90	kulālacakra	98
35	baka	30	91	uṣṭra	54
36	bhāradvāja	28	92	ākāśakapota	*
37	kukkuṭtoddāna	88	93	garuḍa	39
38	aranyacaṭaka	89	94	parosṇī	63
39	mayūra	32	95	(unnamed)	65
40	paṅgumayūra	111	96	bhāra	99
41	khaḍga	34	97	nārada	100
42	śūla	40	98	svarga	101
43	viparītanṛtya	90	99	ūrṇanābhi	49
44	śyena	38	100	śuka	71
45	kapāla	31	101	tr̥ṇajalāyukā	60
46	sarpa	42	102	vṛnta	72
47	(unnamed)	114	103	krauñca	67
48	(unnamed)	113	104	varāha	66
49	ardhapaścimatāna	107	105	matsyendra	102
50	ūrdhvapaścimatāna	108	106	yoni	103
51	(unnamed)	109	107	svastika	59
52	baddhapadma	33	108	vajra	68

(Continued)

No./HAP	Name	No./ŚTN	No./HAP	Name	No./ŚTN
53	kukkuṭa	36	109	utkaṭa	104
54	paṅgukukkuṭa	112	110	śukti	105
55	(unnamed)	115	111	śava	70
56	chatra	35	112	tāna	74 ⁸⁴

Table 5: Names of *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

The order of the descriptions of the *āsana*-s in these texts is key to understanding how they are to be practised. In over a dozen instances, the description of one *āsana* relies on the description of the one directly before it. In other words, one must accomplish a “foundational” *āsana*, so to speak, in order to perform the next. Examples are *gajāsana* (26–31), *caṭakāsana* (32–34), *kukkuṭāsana* (53–54, 58), etc. (see Appendix 2). The order of the *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is correct in so far as the description of each foundational *āsana* is placed before the one that depends on it. However, in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the *āsana*-s have been taken out of order, resulting in the foundational *āsana*-s being separated from those that depend on them. This means that one cannot understand many of the descriptions in the *Śrītattvanidhi* without reading ahead. More importantly, it suggests that the section on *āsana* practice in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is in all probability the source of those in the *Śrītattvanidhi* because the latter has been compiled without retaining the correct textual order.

Furthermore, one would expect the *Śrītattvanidhi* to have borrowed its material from elsewhere because it is a digest which is not specifically about yoga. In contrast to this, the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is undoubtedly a yoga text, and is more likely to be the source, unless this material derives from a third, earlier work that remains unknown. Sjöman’s hypothesis⁸⁵ that some of these *āsana*-s derive from Indian wrestling, gymnastics and so on, may still be true. However, the significance of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is that it locates these *āsana*-s within Haṭha Yoga. Therefore, there is now evidence that haṭhayogis practised dynamic *āsana*-s, some of which required the use of rope and walls, and such yogis may have played an important role in the development of these *āsana*-s.

Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss fully the significance of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*’s *āsana*-s in the context of the historical development of Haṭha Yoga, two observations can be made. The first striking feature is the inclusion of moving *āsana*-s. Many *āsana*-s are combined with a movement that is to be repeated over and over. Examples include *vṛṣapādakṣepa* (1), *śvot-tāna* (6), *virata* (20), *luṭhana* (22), *matsya* (24), etc. (see Appendix 2).

84 This pose is called *uttānapādāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

85 Sjöman 1999: 43 ff.

The second feature, which is unique among medieval yoga texts, is that the *āsana*-s are arranged in six sequences, each with its own heading. The headings are as follows:

1. Supine *āsana*-s (*uttānāni āsanāni*)
2. Prone *āsana*-s (*nubjāsanāni*)
3. Stationary *āsana*-s (*sthānāsanāni*)
4. Standing *āsana*-s (*utthānāsanāni*)
5. Rope *āsana*-s (*rajivāsanāni*)
6. *āsana*-s which pierce the sun and moon (*sūryacandrābhedanāny āsanāni*)⁸⁶

It appears as though these *āsana*-s have been sequenced according to how they were practised because, in some instances, the foundational *āsana* does not resemble the *āsana* being described. For example, the description of the ball posture (*kandukāśana*) stipulates that one should do the reed posture (*vetrāśana*) beforehand.⁸⁷ However, the reed pose, in which the spine is extended, does not resemble the ball pose, in which the spine is flexed. Therefore, the instruction of positioning oneself in the reed pose is not simply a literary device employed by the scribe to assist in describing the ball pose. Such an instruction is intended to indicate the sequence of practice.⁸⁸

Furthermore, the headings and sequences suggest that the postures were developed in groups. These groups appear to be antecedents to the modern categories of standing, seated and floor poses, which are also combined in some styles to form sequences.⁸⁹

Though the one available manuscript of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* appears to be incomplete and the text itself may be a truncation of an earlier work, it significantly extends our knowledge of Haṭha Yoga in the eighteenth century. During this time, haṭhayogic *āsana*-s were adapted with a view to cultivating strength and fitness, through a comprehensive range of strenuous positions and continuous movements. Its section on *āsana* does not expatiate on the benefits of

⁸⁶ These six headings correspond to *āsana*-s 1–22, 23–47, 48–74, 75–93, 94–103 and 104–122, respectively. Some of these headings are based on emendations. See Appendix 2. I do not know why there is a category called “piercing the sun and moon”. The sun and moon are not mentioned in the descriptions of the *āsana*-s that follow this heading, and these poses do not suggest concepts of the sun and moon as left and right sides of the body, nasal dominance, *prāṇāyāma*, head and abdomen, etc.

⁸⁷ The ball posture is *āsana* 18 in Appendix 2.

⁸⁸ I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for bringing this to my attention.

⁸⁹ Iyengar’s subdividing of *āsana*-s into standing, sitting, supine, prone, etc., has been noted by Elizabeth De Michelis (2004: 234, n. 40). Swami Sivananda’s book, *Yoga Asanas* (1993, first published 1931) is without subdivisions, though Swami Satyananda’s book *Asana Pranayama Mudra Bandha* (1996, first published 1969) has subdivisions, including standing *āsana*-s. Other modern yoga books such as Shree Yogeshwaranand Paramahansa’s *First Steps to Higher Yoga* (2001, first published 1970) present *āsana*-s in various groups.

practising such *āsana*-s, other than to say they produce bodily strength (*śārīra-dārḍhya*). Another manuscript of this text or, more ideally, the source from which it may have been extracted, will most probably provide more information.

4. Chronology and Increments in the Number of *Āsana*-s in Medieval Yoga Texts

All the texts and manuscripts containing extensive lists of *āsana*-s date to after the sixteenth century. The chronology of medieval yoga texts indicates a steady increase in the number of *āsana*-s practised in Haṭha Yoga as it developed over time. A number of reasons seem probable here. Firstly, the increase may have resulted from competitive extension. In other words, one tradition tried to gain an advantage over another tradition by claiming to teach more *āsana*-s.

Secondly, if it ever comes to light that eighty-four *āsana*-s existed outside of Haṭha Yoga before the fifteenth century, then it would appear that haṭhayogis gradually adopted them over the course of several centuries, despite their initial view that most of these *āsana*-s were superfluous. Haṭha Yoga grew in popularity from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, as evinced by its transformation from an auxiliary practice in works such as the eleventh-century *Kālacakratantra* (Birch 2011: 535–538) and the thirteenth-century *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, in which it is one of four yogas, to a tradition of yoga in its own right as seen in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. It is reasonable to assume that, by the end of the fifteenth century, Haṭha Yoga must have been practised more widely and by a greater variety of people. Therefore, the growth in its popularity would have led to greater innovation, experimentation and the assimilation of practices from elsewhere, such as older traditions of asceticism and martial arts. This hypothesis is supported by the claim in some texts that Haṭha Yoga was practised by people of different religions and social backgrounds in India.⁹⁰

A third possible reason for the incremental growth in the number of *āsana*-s in yoga texts has more to do with the development of the literature rather than the yoga systems themselves. The early Haṭha texts are short, pithy manuals that might have been written by and for practitioners. Over time, these yoga texts grew

90 For example, DYŚ 41–42ab: “Whether a Brahmin, renunciant, Buddhist, Jain, Kāpālika or follower of Cārvāka, the wise man who has confidence [in the efficacy of Haṭha Yoga] and who is always devoted to the practice of [Haṭha] yoga will attain all Siddhis” (*brāhmaṇaḥ śramaṇo vāpi bauddho vāpy ārhato ’thavā | kāpālika vā cārvākaḥ śraddhayā sahitaḥ sudhīḥ || 41 || yogābhyāsarato nityaṃ sarvasiddhim avāpnuyāt*). For statements suggesting that all four castes and women practised Haṭha Yoga, see YY 6.12, 6.16–6.19ab and the *Yoga-cintāmaṇi* p. 57 (quoting without attribution *Viṣṇudharma* 98.16). The *Śivasamhitā* (4.79, 5.258–260) taught Haṭha Yoga for householders.

in size and became more scholarly in their language and style. Hence, lists and descriptions of eighty-four postures may have manifested because later compilers were concerned more with thoroughness than brevity. Large scholarly compilations like the *Yogacintāmaṇi* were written for a more learned audience and tended to include more techniques from a greater variety of sources.

These three proposed reasons are not mutually exclusive and may have combined to produce the proliferation of *āsana*-s seen in the later textual sources. Competitive extension and the growing popularity of Haṭha Yoga suggest a gradual process of accretion. The gathering of sources and the creation of lists of eighty-four or more *āsana*-s was probably the most recent stage, which was the result of scholarly activity.

5. Connections between Medieval and Modern *Āsana*-s

In light of the fact that Indian yoga systems of the early twentieth century incorporated large numbers of *āsana*-s, it is worth asking if their pioneers were influenced by any of the unpublished texts discussed in this chapter. I know of no citation of these texts in a modern book on yoga, apart from Dr. M. L. Gharote's work, which cites the last two manuscripts. Gharote was a disciple of Swāmī Kuvalayānanda, who founded the Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute with a view to popularising physical yoga throughout India from the 1920s onwards.⁹¹ However, I am yet to ascertain whether Swāmī Kuvalayānanda knew of these yoga compendiums. The early publications of the Institute do not cite them.

Nonetheless, the citation of the sources I have discussed is not a necessary condition for proving their influence on gurus in the twentieth century. These sources indicate that over eighty-four *āsana*-s were known to haṭhayogis from several areas in north and south India before the British opened the floodgates to European modernity,⁹² and it is quite likely that knowledge of these *āsana*-s was

91 Alter 2004: 9, 86, 263, n. 22.

92 Various sources on the eighty-four *āsana*-s are ascribed to specific places. A scribal comment after the *Haṭharatnāvalī*'s first chapter colophon in a manuscript (no. 6715) held at the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, appears to identify the author, Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, as native to Tīrabhukta ([...] *pravartakatīrabhukte deśīya* [...]) (For the complete transcript, see Sastri 1931: 4918). Veṅkata Reddy (1982: 14–15) opines that Śrīnivāsa may have belonged to a Tīrabhukta in Andhra Pradesh, but this name may also refer to the Videha country which is in northern Bihar (Sircar 1971: 101). In the *Jogapradīpyakā* (v. 958), the author, Jayatārāma, says he was living in Vrindavan (i. e., near Mathura). Also, there are reports that libraries in Jodhpur and Jaipur hold several manuscripts which mention large numbers of *āsana*-s (e. g., the *Āsanānāmāni*, *Āsanayogagrantha*, etc.; for details, see Gharote et al. 2006: lxiii). Also, eighty-four *āsana*-s are painted on the walls of the Mahāmandir in Jodhpur and one hundred miniatures are reportedly held at the Jaipur Central Museum

transmitted to twentieth-century gurus not only by textual sources which are unknown to modern scholars, but by Brahmins who may have inherited the knowledge from their families or teachers. Pioneering yoga gurus, such as Kṛṣṇamācārya, Swāmī Kuvalayānanda and Shree Yogendra, were all Brahmins who disapproved of the extreme asceticism and Kāpālika practices of some renunciants.⁹³ Therefore, it is more likely that they were influenced by the knowledge of Brahmins whose erudite forefathers had been appropriating Haṭha Yoga since the seventeenth century, as evinced by texts such as the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the so-called Yoga Upaniṣads.⁹⁴

Generally speaking, most of the seated, forward, backward, twisting and arm-balancing poses in modern yoga have been anticipated by these seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources. This may not be so apparent in comparing the names of *āsana*-s from one tradition to another, because similar *āsana*-s can have different names.⁹⁵ This is true for both medieval and modern yoga. Such differences may reflect regional influences and attempts by gurus to distinguish their own repertoire of techniques. The main exceptions to this are the names of *āsana*-s in the well-known, principal texts such as the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Since these texts have been invoked to establish the traditional credentials, so to speak, of more recent lineages, the names of their *āsana*-s have endured.⁹⁶

As far as I am aware, the prominent modern practices of *sūryanamaskāra* and *vinyāsa* are absent in medieval yoga texts.⁹⁷ Though moving *āsana*-s and se-

(Gharote et al. 2006: lxvi). These indicate that eighty-four *āsana*-s were known in Rajasthan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A comment in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (fol. 26r) suggests the author was familiar with Maharashtra: “Similar to the Jāti sprout, the *haritaśara* by name is known in Mahārāṣṭra, etc. as the Lavālā” ([...] *jātyaṅkurasadṛśo haritaśaraḥ nāma lavālā iti mahārāṣṭrādaḥ prasiddhaḥ* || Emend. *jāty-* : Codex *jānty-*. Emend. *dṛśo* : Codex *dṛśa*).

93 For more information on the disrepute of Haṭha Yoga in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Singleton 2010: 78. He also mentions the yogis’ association with mercenary fighters and the “risible contortions of the mendicant fakir”. Such views are also seen in the work of Indologists at this time (Birch 2011: 529–530).

94 My comments here are confined to the gurus whose names I have mentioned. Also, Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh, who is said to have been initiated into the Daśnāmī sect in 1924 (Satyananda 1996: v), must have been a Brahmin because the Sarasvatī lineage initiates only Brahmins (Clark 2006: 39). Nonetheless, one cannot rule out that there were non-Brahmanical channels of transmission of other types of modern Indian yoga.

95 See Appendix 3 for examples of this.

96 There are also textual variations in the names of *āsana*-s transmitted in different versions of the PYŚ. See Maas’ chapter in the present volume.

97 In his biography of his teacher Kṛṣṇamācārya, A. G. Mohan (2010: 29) defines *vinyāsa* and states his belief that *vinyāsa* was Kṛṣṇamācārya’s innovation: “A special feature of the asana system of Krishnamacharya was vinyasa. Many yoga students are no doubt familiar with this word – it is increasingly used now, often to describe the ‘style’ of a yoga class, as in ‘haṭha

quences are described in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, this text does not provide general guidelines on how the postures were practised. In fact, Sanskrit yoga texts do not stipulate whether a specific *āsana* was held for a long or short period of time or whether manipulating the breath was important. The absence of such details suggests that there was no consensus on these matters, which may have been left to each guru's discretion.

The prostration-like movements of *sūryanamaskāra* may derive from older devotional practices of sun worship but its inclusion as a technique in a system of yoga is without any known precedent until the twentieth century. In fact, the one reference to *sūryanamaskāra* in a medieval text on Haṭha Yoga advises against its practice on the grounds that it might afflict the body (*kāyakleśa*) if performed many times.⁹⁸ This comment indicates that a rather strenuous form of *sūryanamaskāra* was known in the nineteenth century, but descriptions of such a practice are yet to be found.⁹⁹

Both late medieval and modern yoga make use of inverted *āsana*-s. In early Haṭha Yoga, inversions are a *mudrā* called *viparītakaraṇī*. In late medieval sources, *viparītakaraṇī* is included among descriptions of *āsana*-s with names

vinyasa' or 'vinyasa flow'. Vinyasa is essential, and probably unique, to Krishnamacharya's teachings. As far as I know, he was the first yoga master in the last century to introduce the idea. A vinyasa, in essence, consists of moving from one asana, or body position, to another, combining breathing with the movement."

98 In his commentary on the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.61), the nineteenth-century Brahmānanda mentioned *sūryanamaskāra*, but he did so only in the context of providing an example of a practice that, in his opinion, would afflict the body (*kāyakleśa*) if performed many times: "A method of afflicting the body is a method that causes affliction to the body. [It is] an action in the form of many *sūryanamaskāra*, etc. and lifting great weights, etc." (*kāyakleśavidhiṃ kāyakleśakaram vidhiṃ kriyāṃ bahuśūryanamaskārādirūpāṃ bahubhārodvahanādirūpāṃ ca*). The physical act of prostrating the body in worship is mentioned in some classical and early medieval Sanskrit sources. Examples include references to an eight-limbed prostration (*aṣṭāṅgapraṇāma*), in which eight parts of the body touch the ground (*aṣṭāṅgapraṇipāta*, *aṣṭāṅgapraṇāma*). See the following etexts available at muktabodha.org: *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* 45.375; *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya* 8.38; *Kulāraṇavatāntra* 17.98; etc. An *aṣṭāṅgapraṇāma* is described by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa in his *Brṛhattantrasāra* 2.107–109. Chapter thirty-four of the *Aṃśumatitantra* is on "methods of prostration" (*namaskāraavidhi*) and describes an eight-limbed prostration which destroys all diseases.

99 Polly O'Hanlon's article on "Military Sports and the History of the Martial Body in India" (2007: 511) refers to a letter written in 1759 by a trooper named Muzaffar Khan, who wrote to Nanasaheb Peshwa to inform him that a wound on his back was preventing him from practising his usual regime of *daṇḍa* and *sūryanamaskāra*. Also, a more recent reference to a physically demanding type of *sūryanamaskāra* can be found in *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science* by HH Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee (1896: 61), who states, "There are various kinds of physical exercises, in-door and out-door. But some of the Hindoos set aside a portion of their daily worship for making salutations to the Sun by prostrations. This method of adoration affords them so much muscular activity that it takes to some extent the place of physical exercise."

such as *viparītakaraṇāsana*,¹⁰⁰ *narakāsana*,¹⁰¹ *kapālāsana*,¹⁰² etc. There is some ambiguity in the descriptions of *viparītakaraṇī* in early Haṭha texts as to whether this *mudrā* has only the top of the head on the ground as headstand (*śīrṣāsana*) in modern yoga or the back of the head and neck on the ground as shoulderstand (*sarvāṅgāsana*).¹⁰³ The descriptions of inverted *āsana*-s in texts such as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and the *Jogapradīpikā* are clear in this regard: *narakāsana* and *viparītakaraṇāsana* are the equivalent of shoulderstand, and *kapālāsana*, headstand.¹⁰⁴ Apart from *viparītakaraṇī*, there are several other instances of early haṭhayogic *mudrā*-s becoming *āsana*-s in late medieval sources; for example, *mūlabandhāsana*,¹⁰⁵ *mahāmudrāsana*¹⁰⁶ and *yonimudrāsana*.¹⁰⁷ The deliberate application of haṭhayogic *mudrā*-s such as *uḍḍīyānabandha* to seated *āsana*-s is a salient feature of Haṭha Yoga.¹⁰⁸ However, the application of these *mudrā*-s in the practice of non-seated *āsana*-s is not mentioned in medieval sources and may be a modern development.

The extensive lists of *āsana*-s in medieval sources do not account for many of the standing poses in modern yoga. The similar shapes of these standing poses to exercises in European free-standing gymnastics and callisthenics is strong evidence for the influence of British physical culture on modern Indian yoga.¹⁰⁹ However, very little is known of the fighting stances and lunges of medieval Indian wrestling and martial traditions, which may also have inspired some of modern yoga's standing poses. It is possible that Indian yoga gurus may have viewed callisthenic and martial postures as an extension of older standing *āsana*-s in texts such as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*. Indeed, the ease with which these gurus integrated postures from outside yoga may well be the result of their knowledge of antecedents in earlier systems of Haṭha Yoga. The standing poses of modern yoga are prominent in the styles emanating from Kṛṣṇamācārya, who was familiar with one hundred and eleven *āsana*-s of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*

100 JP vv. 163–165.

101 YC p. 157.

102 *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* 45 (Appendix 2).

103 From the description of *viparītakaraṇī* in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (3.81), one might infer that it is a headstand because it is supposed to be held for three hours every day, which seems more practicable for headstand (see Bernard 1958: 29–31) than shoulderstand.

104 In the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (p. 157), *narakāsana* is headstand.

105 HSC, ms. no. R3239, fols. 34–35.

106 JP vv. 103–106.

107 JP vv. 107–109.

108 For examples, see the definitions of *padmāsana* and *siddhāsana* in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.35–36, 44–46). These and similar definitions occur in both earlier and later sources on Haṭha Yoga.

109 For the influence of physical culture on twentieth-century Indian yoga, see Singleton 2010.

because he had read the *Śrītattvanidhi*, which he cited in the introduction to his book called the *Yogamakaranda*.¹¹⁰

Kṛṣṇamācārya's knowledge of the *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* via the *Śrītattvanidhi* raises the question of whether he knew their textual source(s). As mentioned above, the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* appears to be an incomplete summary of another text,¹¹¹ and the *Śrītattvanidhi* is a compilation that must have borrowed its material on *āsana* practice from elsewhere. According to a biography¹¹² and Singleton's interviews with Pattabhi Jois,¹¹³ some salient features of Kṛṣṇamācārya's teaching on *āsana* were derived from a Sanskrit yoga text called the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa*, which is also known to some of his students, including the Iyengars, Pattabhi Jois, Desikachar and his son, Kaustubh.¹¹⁴ Despite the prominence of the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa* in this lineage, no one has produced a copy of it.¹¹⁵ My research has not located a name similar to *Yoga Kuruṇṭa* in any catalogue of an Indian manuscript library.

Gītā Iyengar's book *Yoga: A Gem for Women*¹¹⁶ has a section entitled, "Āsana: Yoga Kuruṇṭa", in which she states that these *āsana*-s involve the use of a rope. In a more recent article, she reveals that the inspiration behind the rope poses was Kṛṣṇamācārya's knowledge of the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa*.¹¹⁷ The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* has rope poses, which indicates that ropes were used in this way in Haṭha Yoga, possibly as early as the eighteenth century. None of the names of its rope poses correspond to those in Iyengar's book, but a connection between the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa* seems probable given that the former is the only extant yoga text in which rope poses have been described. One must wonder whether the name "Yogakuruṇṭa" was derived from Kapālakuraṇṭaka, the author of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Kṛṣṇamācārya's knowl-

110 Singleton 2010: 222, n. 7.

111 See n. 75.

112 Mohan 2010: 45.

113 Singleton 2010: 184–186.

114 Singleton (2010: 185) was told of Kaustubh's knowledge of this text in an interview.

115 According to the official website for the K. Pattabhi Jois Ashtanga Yoga Institute, Kṛṣṇamācārya transcribed the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa* from a manuscript which may no longer be extant: "The method of Yoga taught at KPJAYI is that which has been told by the ancient Sage Vamana in his text called 'Yoga Kuruṇṭa'. Although many books on Yoga have been written, Vamana is the only one who has delineated a complete practical method. In the 1920's, the Yogi and Sanskrit Scholar, T. Krishnamacharya traveled to Calcutta where he transcribed and recorded the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa*, which was written on palm leaves and was in a bad state of decay, having been partially eaten by ants. Later, Krishnamacharya passed on these teachings to the late Pattabhi Jois, whose school continues to teach this method today" (<http://kpjayi.org/the-practice/traditional-method>. Accessed 4 August 2014).

116 Iyengar 1998: 252.

117 The relevant passage of this article is cited in Smith 2008: 157, n. 5.

118 The name *Yogakuraṇṭaka* might be understood as the *Yogayājñavalkya* (i. e., "Yājñavalkya on [the topic of] yoga"), but it might also be a play on the meaning of *kuraṇṭaka* as "yellow

edge of rope poses in the *Yoga Kurunṭa* and the reference to Kapālakuraṇṭaka in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* suggest a connection between these texts. It could be possible that *Yogakurunṭa* is another name for the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* or the original work from which the incomplete manuscript of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* was extracted. Until the *Yoga Kurunṭa* is found, such hypotheses remain speculative, particularly in light of the inconsistencies in statements made about the contents of the *Yoga Kurunṭa* by various students within Kṛṣṇamācārya's lineage, as Singleton has noted:¹¹⁹

Krishnamacharya's grandson, Kausthub Desikachar, refers to writings by his grandfather that "contradict the popularly held notion that the *Yoga Kuranta* [sic] was the basis for *Astanga Vinyasa Yoga*" (Desikachar 2005: 60). Since nobody has seen this text, such statements can be more profitably interpreted as an indication that the "content" of the work changed as Krishnamacharya's teaching changed (and perhaps also as another symptom of the struggles to manage the memory and heritage of Krishnamacharya). That is to say, during his time in Mysore with Pattabhi Jois, Krishnamacharya may have invoked the text to legitimize the sequences that became Ashtanga yoga, but in later life he used it to authorize a wider set of practices.

6. Conclusion

The manuscript evidence discussed in this paper will contribute toward a more nuanced history of *āsana* practice. Though the corpus of early Haṭha Yoga contains relatively few *āsana*-s, it is becoming clear as more textual evidence is found that after the sixteenth century Haṭha Yoga traditions gradually incorporated larger numbers of *āsana*-s to the point that some mention and describe more than eighty-four. The aggregate number of *āsana*-s in these late medieval sources is at least several hundred in addition to the dozen or so standard *āsana*-s which are found in earlier yoga texts.

Further research is required to determine the degree to which medieval *āsana*-s correspond to those taught in India in the modern period. As I mentioned above, it seems that certain types of *āsana*-s correspond whereas others do not. However, it is often very difficult to compare medieval and modern *āsana*-s because of the ambiguities and omissions in the Sanskrit descriptions of the former, the number of variations of the latter and the different names for the same *āsana* in both medieval and modern traditions. For example, as outlined in Appendix 3, a basic comparison between Pattabhi Jois' primary sequence of

amaranth" (Monier-Williams 1899, s. v.). One might understand *Yogakuraṇṭaka* as the "yellow amaranth of yoga", much like the title *Haṭhayogamañjarī*.

119 Singleton 2010: 185. Singleton's reference is to Desikachar's book *The Yoga of the Yogi: The Legacy of T. Krishnamacharya* (Chennai: Krishnamacharya Yoga Mandiram).

āsana-s and the sources consulted for this paper suggests that his floor and finishing poses are the types of modern *āsana*-s most similar to medieval ones. However, apart from iconic *āsana*-s such as *padmāsana*, few modern and medieval *āsana*-s have the same names or correspond in every detail.

Owing to the absence of citations of premodern texts that describe large numbers of *āsana*-s, such as the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, *Jogapradīpyakā* and *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, in twentieth-century yoga books, such as Jois' *Yogamālā*, it is not possible to evaluate their influence on modern yoga in any definitive way. Nonetheless, these pre-modern works are important for reconstructing the history of yoga because their content indicates that Haṭha Yoga continued to evolve in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this time, the number and sophistication of its techniques grew not only in *āsana* practice, but also in the practice of *śaṭkarma*, *prāṇāyāma* and *mudrā*. Furthermore, some of these texts evince the integration of haṭhayogic teachings with mainstream Brahmanical traditions, which increases the likelihood that those Brahmins who taught physical yoga in the twentieth century knew of these relatively recent developments in Haṭha Yoga.

Appendix 1: Descriptions of the Additional *Āsana*-s in the Ujjain Manuscript

The following is a diplomatic transcription of the descriptions of *āsana*-s which appear in list 1b of the above chapter. These *āsana*-s and their descriptions do not occur in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and, apart from those few which are based on Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvavaiśārādī* and three others which I have indicated in the footnotes, I am yet to find the majority of these descriptions in another text or manuscript. I have suggested some conjectures and emendations in the footnotes, and hope that this transcription may contribute to the critical editing of these descriptions. I have reproduced the numbering of these *āsana*-s in the Ujjain manuscript. The gaps in the numbering are those *āsana*-s in list 1a, descriptions of which occur in the edition and other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.

[fol. 59r]

1. kevalasvastikam [[[jānūrvor antare samyak kṛtvā pādāta ubhe || r̥jukāyaḥ samāsīnaḥ svastikam tat pracakṣate ||¹²⁰ anyac cāgre śīvanyā ātmana ityādi uttarapr̥ṣṭhe [[[

3. ardhāsana¹²¹ [[[ekapādam athaikasmin vinyasyoruṇi sattamaḥ || āsī-tārdhāsanaṁ idaṁ yogasādhanaṁ uttamaṁ ||

8.¹²² paryaṅkāsaṇam uktaṁ yogabhāṣyaṭīkāyāṁ vācaspatinā || jānuprasārīta-bāhvoḥ paryaṅka¹²³ iti || tattvaṁ tu paprāsanaḥ¹²⁴ [[[bhūmau śayitvopajānu-hastadvayaṁ sthāpayet [[[tena catur sayakapādavad asya¹²⁵ jānudvayaskaṇ-dhadvayarūpaṁ catuṣkaṁ bhātīti || 2 madīyaḥ ||¹²⁶

[fol. 59v]

[no number]¹²⁷ yathā vācyatyasyatalayor¹²⁸ ardhasaṁsparśād uccajaṅghayoh [[[pādayor jānudeśe vai vīrākhyam yogapaṭṭataḥ || iti vīrāsanalakṣaṇāntaram [[[

20. gaṛuḍāsanaṁ [no description]

[fol. 60r]

28. markāṭam [[[śavāsanaṁsthaḥ dvau pādaḥ bhūmau mastakato [']nyataḥ [[kuryād utthāya vegenādhasthitir markāṭam¹²⁹ tu tat ||

29. garbhāsanaṁ [[[garbhāsane nirañjanakriyā tallakṣaṇam tu ||

120 This is the same as *svastikāsana* in HP 1.21. The quotation following this (i.e., *śīvanyā ātmana*) refers to the description of *svastikāsana* in the *Yogayājñavalkya* (3.4–5ab), which is quoted on a subsequent page of this manuscript (i.e., as *āsana* no. 14).

121 This is the same as the description of *ardhāsana* in other manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.

122 The following descriptions of *paryaṅkāsaṇa* are a marginal note in the lower margin of this folio (i.e., 59r).

123 One might consider the diagnostic conjecture *śayanaṁ paryaṅka iti*.

124 Consider *padmāsanaḥ* for *paprāsanaḥ*.

125 Consider *paryaṅkavad asya* for *sayakavad asya*. I wish to thank James Mallinson for this suggestion.

126 The first description of *paryaṅkāsaṇa* is based on that in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvavaiśārādī*. I have not found the second description in another yoga text.

127 The following description of *vīrāsana* is a marginal note at the top of the folio.

128 Consider *vā vyatyasya* for *vācyatyasya*.

129 There are two numbers written as a fraction which divide this word in the Codex: *marka* 16/100 *ṭam*. This is a reference to the word *caturaśīti*, which is in the line above.

[fol. 61v]

34. cakrāsanam [[[śavāsanasthau dvau pādaḥ kuryān mastakataḥ pari¹³⁰ ||
vyutkrameṇa tataḥ śīghram etat sarvasya sādhanam || sarvāsanānidānam¹³¹
gulmapliḥvātarogādinaśanam ||¹³²

35. daṇḍāsanam [[[upaśliṣyāṅgulikau¹³³ bhūmiśliṣṭajāṅghorupādaḥ prasārya
daṇḍāsanam abhyased iti ||

36. sopāśrayam [[[yogapaṭṭayogād idam evaṁ sopāśrayam iti vācaspatiḥ ||

37. candrāsanam [[[vāmaṁ vā dakṣiṇam vāpi pādapārśvam bhuvi nyaset ||
gulphe¹³⁴ tatrānyad āsthāpya saṁsthārdhenduprakīrtitam¹³⁵ ||

38. krauñcaniśadanam [[[krauñcaḥ pakṣivīṣeṣaḥ tadvat yathā [[[

39. hastinaḥ [[[hastina iva sthitiḥ yathā [[[

40. uṣṭrasya [[[pādadvayatala¹³⁶ nitambau dhṛtvā karo talopari¹³⁷ karatalam
yuktaṁ liṅgāgre 'thavā muṣṭhidvaye¹³⁸ mastakam¹³⁹ vā kṛtvoṣṭrasya sthitis tad
āsanam || nādaṁ śṛṇuyāt ||

41. samasaṁsthānam [[[pārṣṇyāgrapādābhyām¹⁴⁰ dvayor ākuñcitayor anyon-
yapīḍanam yenāvasthitasya sthairyam sukham ca jāyate sthirasukham āsanam iti
yogasūtrāt ||

[fol. 62r]

42. bhagāsanam [[[pādadvayasya pārṣṇyāgre liṅgabhūmyor¹⁴¹ dṛḍham nyaset ||
śanair utthāya hastābhyām dhṛtvā bhūmiṁ tataḥ punaḥ pādāgre prṣṭhataḥ kṛtvā

130 Consider *parau* for *pari*.

131 Consider *-nidhānam* for *-nidānam*.

132 This *āsana* is described in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* in the commentary on *sūtra* 2.46.

133 Correct *upaśliṣyāṅgulikau* to *upaśliṣṭāṅgulikau*.

134 Consider *gulphaṁ* for *gulphe*.

135 Correct *saṁsthārdhendu* to *saṁsthārdhendum*.

136 Consider *-tale* for *-tala*.

137 Consider *karatalopari* for *karo talopari*.

138 Correct *muṣṭhi-* to *muṣṭi-*.

139 Consider *mastake* for *mastakam*.

140 Consider *pārṣṇyāgra* for *pārṣṇyāgrā*.

141 Consider *liṅgaṁ bhūmyām* for *liṅgabhūmyor*.

yuktau pārṣṇī puras tataḥ || pādayoḥ prṣṭhapārśve tu gudam saṁsthāpya cāgrataḥ upasthapārśvayor¹⁴² gulphau yat saṁsthāpyau bhagam tu tat || phalam ||]

43. kubjāsanam ||] vāmapādatalam dakṣahastenākṛṣya vai balāt || vāmakakṣam nyased dakṣam dakṣakakṣe yathāvidhi || tattatpārṣṇer adhobhāge tattad +ūrparakāgrataḥ¹⁴³ dhārayet tiryagāsthānam kubjāsanam idam bhavet ||

44. naḍāsanam ||] mohanadāsenokte | prathamam jānudvaye sthitvā vāmakamuṣṭim baddhvā dakṣiṇajātuni¹⁴⁴ saṁsthāpya dakṣiṇajānuni¹⁴⁵ kim api saṁmardhya¹⁴⁶ dhārayet tena hastadvayam api bandhadvayaikibhūtena¹⁴⁷ nābhīm saṁmardhayitvātrāntare [']dhaḥsthitapārṣṇibhyām nitambau saṁmardhya¹⁴⁸ gudam ākuñcyāgrim¹⁴⁹ ūrdhvagatam kṛtvā lino bhaved iti || etenāghanāsaḥ alakṣyaprakāśaḥ ||

45. garbhāsanam ||] garbhasaṁsthānam yathā tathā tat || tatra nirañjanakriyā kartavyā || so [']ham ityādeḥ japaḥ ||

46. vūlyāsanam¹⁵⁰ ||] ubhayapārṇiyugam¹⁵¹ jānvor ādhāya kaṭiprṣṭhe same kṛtvā hastena nābhīm utthāpya duttanyādbalena¹⁵² gurudarsītena idāpiṅgale badhnīyāt yāvat granthidvayam sthiram patati tadā nānā sukhāni yatra tan naulīkarmopayuktam iti ||] ke cit tūthāya jānudvaye hastadvayam sthāpya tathā sthitvā jānudvaye kūrparadvayam hastadvayena śaṅkhadvayam avalambya balena naulīm kurvanti ||

47. stambhāsanam ||] nyubjaḥ jaṅghāmadhye karadvayam kṛtvā karau bhūmau kṛtvāntarikṣo bhaved omkāram raṭhed¹⁵³ iti || prṭhvīnīrāmśanāsaḥ phalam ||

[fol. 62v]

48. śūnyāsanam ||] karadvayamuṣṭi baddhvā tataḥ prṭhivyām saṁsthāpyānta-

142 After *upasthapārśvayor*, there is a mark pointing to a definition of *upastha*, which has been written at the top of the folio: *upastham vakṣyamāṇayor bhagaliṅgayor ity amaraḥ*.

143 Consider *tattatkūrparakāgrataḥ* for *tattad+ūrparakāgrataḥ*.

144 Correct *dakṣiṇajātuni* to *dakṣiṇajānuni*.

145 Correct *-jānuni* to *-jānuni*.

146 Correct *saṁmardhya* to *saṁmardya*.

147 Consider *bandhayitvaikibhūtena* for *bandhadvayaikibhūtena*.

148 Correct *saṁmardhya* to *saṁmardya*.

149 Consider *ākuñcyāgrim* for *ākuñcyāgrim*.

150 The word *vūlyāsanam* is the result of a correction and the original reading is likely to have been *nyubjāsana*. The *ka* has been written over another ligature.

151 Correct *ubhayapārṇiyugam* to *ubhayapārśniyugam*.

152 The ligatures *-yādha-* are not clear. Consider *tūttanyād balena* for *duttanyādbalena*.

153 Correct *raṭhed* to *raṭed*.

rikṣam utthāpyālakṣyam¹⁵⁴ rāṭeḍ iti || vāmacaraṇāṅguṣṭhaṃ grhītvā vāmakūrpa-
re¹⁵⁵ bhāraṃ dadyāt || iti || dvi+unī¹⁵⁶ [||]

49. haṃsāsanaṃ [||] pṛṣṭhaśīrṣakaṭīḥ kṛtvā samāḥ jaṅghāṃ tu jaṅghikāṃ ma-
dhye saṃsthāpya vyatyasya pārṣṇī jānvor adhaḥ sthitau hastāgrābhyāṃ samā-
kuñcya haṃsaṃ jāpī ca haṃsake || haṃsa so [']haṃ ||¹⁵⁷

[fol. 67r]

|| lakṣmaṇadāśasvara yogī ||

50. gaṇeśāsanaṃ [||] gomukhe saṃsthitim kṛtvā pārṣṇī vyatyasya yugmake ||
tatra sīvanikāṃ sthāpya gaṇeśāsanaṃ īritaṃ [||] ālasyanidrākṣayam [||]

51. gudāsanaṃ [||] pādayoḥ pṛṣṭhake cobhe vyatyasya bhuvi saṃsthitē || gudam
madhye tu saṃsthāpya gudāsanaṃ iti smṛtaṃ ||¹⁵⁸

52. pārvatyāsanaṃ [||] dvau pādaḥ melayitvā tu gudāgre ca pṛṥṭhak nyaset | bhūmau
tadurdhvaṃ ca karau saṃpuṭau sthāpayet tataḥ || dakṣiṇānāmikāmadhye liṅgavad
ūrdhvaṃ ānayet | tatra dṛṣṭim sthīrāṃ kṛtvā prakāśo hr̥ḍi jāyate ||

53. āsāvarī [||] madhyadaṇḍam tiryagvyastagātraṃ kāṣṭhaṃ ca yogināṃ | āsā-
varīti vikhyātaṃ āsanālambī tad viduḥ [||]

54. nidrāharaṃ [||] kṛtapadmāsano yogī tidvai¹⁵⁹ jānuparvaṇī¹⁶⁰ || āsāṃ ca svo-
dare lagnāṃ kṛtvā saṃpuṭitau karau || muṣṭīkṛtau yojayet tu tarjanyau saṃ-
prasāritau || ūrdhvaṃ vā nāsikāgraṃ lokayen mīlīteḥṣaṇaḥ madhuka-
mūlikānasyam¹⁶¹ nāsī kṣiptā¹⁶² nidrā nāśyati || yathā ||

154 Above *alakṣyam*, there is a small mark with the symbol of *om* written next to it.

155 There is a marginal note above the word *kūrpare* but its first ligature is illegible to me: +*ihunī*.

156 This marginal note, which is very difficult to read, might be indicating that the position of the left foot and elbow should also be done on the right side.

157 There is a comment following the description of *haṃsāsana*: *anante vā samāpattir āsanaṃ nirvartayati | anante nāganāyake sahasraṇaṇavidhṛtadharāmaṇḍale ||*. This comment appears to be derived from Vācaspatimiśra's commentary on *Yogasūtra* 2.47, and has little to do with *haṃsāsana*.

158 Following the description of *gudāsana*, there is a gap and then, in small and faint writing, what appears to be an interlinear comment: *bhāgāsanaṃ tūktam*.

159 Consider *tiṣṭhēd vai* for *tidvai*.

160 Correct *jānuparvaṇī* to *jānuparvaṇi*.

161 Correct *madhuka*- to *mādhuka*-. Below the description of *nidrāhara* there is the following comment: *śuṅṭhāmāricapippalī || sambhāgacūrṇa[m] nasiprotam san nidrābhaṅgi ||*.

162 Consider *kṣiptam* for *kṣiptā*.

Appendix 2: One Hundred and twelve Descriptions of Āsana-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*¹⁶³

Now, the Supine Poses.

athottānāni āsanāni

1. Having lain supinely, [the yogi] should bind the neck with the fingers, join the elbows, touch the buttocks on the ground, extend one leg and rotate [separately] the other leg to the left and right. [This] is “pawing the leg like a bull” [pose].

*uttānaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā aṅgulibhiḥ kandharām baddhvā kūrparau militvā*¹⁶⁴
nitambena bhūmiṃ sprṣtvā ekaṃ pādaṃ prasārya ekaikena pādena savya-
*dakṣiṇaṃ bhrāmayet*¹⁶⁵ *vṛṣapādakṣepaṃ bhavati || 1 ||*

2. Having lain supinely, [the yogi] should join and extend the legs, touch the buttocks on the ground, clasp the neck with the hands and hold the breath and remain thus. [This] is the iron-bar pose.

uttānaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā pādaṃ militvā prasārya nitambaṃ bhūmau sprṣtvā
*hastābhyām*¹⁶⁶ *kandharām baddhvā kumbhakaṃ*¹⁶⁷ *kṛtvā tiṣṭhet parighāsaṇaṃ*
bhavati || 2 ||

3. Lying supinely and having placed both elbows on the navel, [the yogi] should extend one hand at a time and hold the nose by the thumb, with the gaze on it, while supporting [the position] with the region of the hips. He should remain thus. [This] is the hatchet pose.

[fol. 3r] *uttānaśayanaṃ kūrparadvayaṃ*¹⁶⁸ *nābhau sthāpayitvā ekaikaṃ hastam*
*prasārya nāsikāyām aṅguṣṭhapradeśena*¹⁶⁹ *dhṛtvā tallakṣyeṇa jaghanapradeśena*
dhṛtvā sthāpayet paraśvāsaṇaṃ bhavati || 3 ||

4. Lying supinely and having fixed one foot on [the back of] the neck, [the yogi] should grasp the toes of [that] foot with the other hand, lengthen the other foot

163 The scribe of the manuscript has not applied the *sandhi* rules between two words that end and begin with vowels. I have retained this peculiarity in my edition. When this occurs between two words in a compound, I have indicated that this is a compound by linking the two words with an n-dash between square brackets (i.e., [-]).

164 Emend. *militvā* : Codex *militvā*.

165 Emend. *bhrāmayet* : Codex *bhrāmayitvā*.

166 Emend. *hastābhyām* : Codex *hastābhyām*.

167 Emend. *kumbhakaṃ* : Codex *vumbhakaṃ*.

168 Emend. *kūrparadvayaṃ* : Codex *kūparadvayaṃ*.

169 Emend. *aṅguṣṭha-* : Codex *aguṣṭa-*.

and hand and remain thus. [He should then do the other side.¹⁷⁰ This] is Ananta's pose.

uttānaśayanaṃ ekaikaṃ pādaṃ grīvāyāṃ vinyasya itarahastena pādāgraṃ grhītvā itarapādahastau lambīkṛtya tiṣṭhet anantāsanaṃ bhavati || 4 ||

5. [The yogi] should lie supinely. Putting one foot on the [back of the] neck, he should place the other hand on the root of the ear. Having placed the elbow of this arm on the ground, while making the other hand and leg straight, he should remain thus [and then do the other side.¹⁷¹ This] is the goad pose.

[fol. 3v] *uttānaṃ śayita¹⁷² ekaikaṃ pādaṃ grīvāyāṃ¹⁷³ kurvan itarahastaṃ¹⁷⁴ karṇamūle sthāpayet tasyaiva hastasya kūrparaṃ¹⁷⁵ bhūmau nidhāya itarahastapādaṃ saralīkṛtya¹⁷⁶ tiṣṭhet ankuśāsanaṃ¹⁷⁷ bhavati || 5 ||*

6. Having placed the body [supinely] like a corpse, [the yogi] should join the knees together, bring [them] onto the navel, clasp the neck with the hands and rotate [the legs. This is] the up-turned dog [pose].

śavavac charīraṃ saṃsthāpya jānūnī saṃmīlya nābhau ānīya¹⁷⁸ hastābhyāṃ kandharāṃ¹⁷⁹ baddhvā bhrāmayet śvottānaṃ bhavati || 6 ||¹⁸⁰

7. Having positioned [himself] as in the up-turned dog [pose, the yogi] should touch both knees with his ears in turn. [This is] the up-turned cat [pose].

[fol. 4r] *śvottānavat saṃsthitim¹⁸¹ kṛtvā jānūdvayaṃ paryāyeṇa karṇayoḥ saṃspr̥śet mārjārōttānaṃ¹⁸² bhavati || 7 ||*

8. Then, having lain supinely and holding the earth with the soles of the feet, [the yogi] should stand up. [This] is the wolf pose.

atha uttānaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā pādatalābhyāṃ bhūmiṃ dhṛtvā uttiṣṭhet vṛkāsaṃ bhavati || 8 ||

170 This is indicated by the use of *ekaikaṃ*.

171 This is indicated by the use of *ekaikaṃ*.

172 Emend. *śayita* : Codex *śaḥ yita*.

173 Emend. Preisendanz *grīvāyāṃ* : Codex *grivāyāṃ*.

174 Emend. *-hastam* : Codex *hataṃ*.

175 Emend. *kūrparaṃ* : Codex *kūparaṃ*.

176 Emend. *saralī-* : Codex *saralī-*.

177 Emend. *ankuśāsanaṃ* : Codex *ankuśāsana*.

178 Emend. *ānīya* : Codex *aṃnīya*.

179 Emend. *kandharāṃ* : Codex *kadhārāṃ*.

180 At the bottom of this folio (3v) there is a marginal note: *dattātreyo gurur jayati ||* .

181 Emend. *śvottānavat saṃsthitim* : Codex *śvottānava saṃsthiṭi*.

182 Conj. *mārjārōttānaṃ* : Codex *mārōttānaṃ*.

9. Lying supinely, gripping the ground with the soles of both feet, [the yogi] should put the elbows on the ground and should raise up his back [from the ground. This] is the mount Trikūṭa [pose].

uttānaśayanaṃ pādatalābhyāṃ bhūmiṃ dhṛtvā kūrparau avanau nidhāya prṣṭhadeśam ūrdhvam unnamayet trikūṭaṃ bhavati || 9 ||

10. Lying supinely, [the yogi] should place the soles of the feet on the up-turned hands and raise the back part of the body from the ground. This] is the monkey's seat.

uttānaśayanaṃ pādātale uttānahastayoḥ sthāpayet prṣṭhabhāgaṃ unnamayet markātapīṭhaṃ bhavati || 10 ||

11. Lying supinely and having supported [himself] with both elbows on the ground and the hands on the buttocks, [the yogi] should hold his head, thighs, shanks and feet [straight] like a stick. [This] is the boat pose.

[fol. 4v] *uttānaśayanaṃ kūrparābhyāṃ bhūmiṃ avaṣṭabhya hastau nitambe nidhāya śiraḥ[-]ūrujaṅghāpādān daṇḍavat dhārayet naukāsaṃ bhavati || 11 ||*

12. Having positioned [himself] like the boat, [the yogi] should take the toes of both feet upwards. This is the horizontal boat pose.

naukāvat¹⁸³ sthivā ūrdhvaṃ pādāgradvayaṃ nayet tiryānnaukāsaṃ bhavati || 12 ||

13. [Having positioned himself] like the horizontal boat and supporting [himself] with the neck, back and elbows on the ground, [the yogi] should take up the toes of both feet, pointing [them] toward the head. [This] is the banner pose.

[fol. 5r] *tiryānnaukāvat grīvāprṣṭhakūrparaiḥ bhūmiṃ avaṣṭabhya mastakalakṣeṇa pādāgradvayaṃ ūrdhvaṃ nayet dhvajāsaṃ¹⁸⁴ bhavati || 13 ||*

14. Having planted [firmly] the nape of the neck on the ground, [the yogi] should raise up the toes of both feet. [This] is the pose from hell.

grīvākaṇṭhena bhūmiṃ viṣṭabhya pādāgradvayaṃ ūrdhvam unnayet narakāsaṃ bhavati || 14 ||

15. Having remained in the pose from hell, [the yogi] should place the upper side of the feet on the ground near to the region of the nose and join both hands. [He] should make [the arms] long and “plough” the ground with the neck. [This] is the

183 Emend. *naukāvat* : Codex *naukāva*.

184 Emend. *dhvajāsaṃ* : Codex *dhvajāsana*.

plough pose.

[fol. 5v] *narakāsane sthitvā ānāsikapradeśe*¹⁸⁵ *bhūmau pādapṛṣṭhe sthāpya hastadvayaṃ saṃmīlya lambīkuryāt*¹⁸⁶ *grīvapradeśena bhūmiṃ karṣayet lāṅgalāsanam bhavet* || 15 ||

16. Lying supinely and having placed the palms of both hands and the soles of both feet on the ground, [the yogi] should raise up the region of the navel. [This] is the sofa pose.

uttānaśayanaṃ hastatalābhyāṃ bhūmiṃ avaṣṭabhya pādatalābhyāṃ bhūmiṃ dhṛtvā nābhīpradeśaṃ ūrdhvaṃ kuryāt paryāṅkāsanam bhavati || 16 ||

17. Having remained in the sofa pose, [the yogi] should join his hands and feet. [This] is the cane pose.

[fol. 6r] *paryāṅkāsane sthitvā hastapādau saṃmīlayet vetrāsanam bhavati* || 17 ||

18. Having remained in the cane pose and pulling his hands and feet apart, [the yogi] should take [them] upwards and press the ground with his backbone. [This] is the ball pose.

*vetrāsane sthitvā hastapādān niṣkṛṣya[-]m*¹⁸⁷ *ūrdhvaṃ nayet pṛṣṭhavaṃśena*¹⁸⁸ *bhūmiṃ pīḍayet*¹⁸⁹ *kandukāsanam bhavati* || 18 ||

19. Having placed one foot on one thigh and the other foot on the other thigh, [this] is the lotus pose. Having threaded the hands in between the thighs and knees, [the yogi] should clasp the neck [with the hands and remain up-turned. [This] is the up-turned turtle [pose].

ekasmin ūruṇi ekaṃ pādaṃ kṛtvā anyasmin ūruṇi anyam pādaṃ kṛtvā padmāsanam bhavati [|] *ūrujānvor antarayoḥ hastau praveśya*¹⁹⁰ *kandarām badhvaḥ uttānaṃ tiṣṭhet uttānakūrmaṃ bhavati* || 19 ||

20. Having placed the shanks and back on the ground and positioning the thighs on the calves, [the yogi] should touch his backbone [on the ground] again and again. [This] is the pose for one who has ceased [from worldly activities].

185 Conj. [Dominic Goodall] *ānāsika*- : Codex *nāsikā*-.

186 Emend. *saṃmīlya lambī*- : Codex *saṃmīlya lambi*-.

187 Emend. *niṣkṛṣyam* : Codex *niṣkṛṣyam*. The final consonant appears to have been inserted to separate the preceding vowel from the following one.

188 Emend. *pṛṣṭhavaṃśena* : Codex *pṛāṣṭhavaṃśena*.

189 Diagnostic Conj. [Dominic Goodall] *pīḍayet* : Codex *pothayet*.

190 Emend. *praveśya* : Codex *praviśya*.

*jaṅghāprṣṭhe*¹⁹¹ *bhūmau nidhāya jaṅghodarayoḥ ūruṇī*¹⁹² *saṁsthāpya prṣṭha-*
*vaṁśaṁ*¹⁹³ *vāraṁ vāraṁ sprṣyet*¹⁹⁴ *viratāsanaṁ bhavati* || 20 ||

21. Lying supinely, supporting the knees on [the region of] the heart and binding the hands on the thighs and shanks, [the yogi] should rock to the left and right. [This] is the stone pose.

[fol. 6v] *uttānaśayanaṁ jānunī hrdaye 'vaṣṭabhya jaṅghāsahita[-]ūruṇi kara-*
dvaye baddhvā savyāpasavyaṁ loḍayet dṛṣadāsanaṁ bhavati || 21 ||

22. Lying supinely, [the yogi] should pass the feet over the head, place them on the ground and lie prone. Having lain pronely, [the yogi] should place his back on the ground and do [this rolling movement] again and again, successively. [This] is the rolling pose.

*uttānaśayanaṁ pādaū śira ullaṅghya bhūmau sthāpayitvā*¹⁹⁵ *nyubjaṁ bhūyate*¹⁹⁶
[[*nyubjaṁ śayanaṁ prṣṭhe*¹⁹⁷ *bhūmau nidhāya punaḥ punaḥ paryāyeṇa*¹⁹⁸
*kartavyaṁ*¹⁹⁹ *luṭhanāsanaṁ*²⁰⁰ *bhavati* || 22 ||

Now, the Prone Poses.

[fol. 7r] *atha nyubjāsanaṇī*²⁰¹

23. Having lain pronely, placing the navel on the ground and supporting [himself on] the ground with the forearms like pillars, [the yogi] should join the lips, make the [sound] “sū” like a flute and remain thus. [This] is the lizard pose.

*nyubjaśayanaṁ kṛtvā nābhiṁ bhūmau nidhāya stambhavat hastābhyāṁ*²⁰²
*bhūmim avaṣṭabhya oṣṭhau nimīlya*²⁰³ *veṇuvat sūkrṭya tiṣṭhet saraṭāsanaṁ*
bhavati || 23 ||

191 Emend. *jaṅghāprṣṭhe* : Codex *jaṅghāprṣṭhi*.

192 Emend. *ūruṇī* : Codex *ūruṇi*.

193 Emend. *prṣṭha-* : Codex *prṣṭhi-*.

194 Emend. *sprṣyet* : Codex *spryet*.

195 Emend. *sthāpayitvā* : Codex *sthāpayitvya*.

196 Emend. *bhūyate* : Codex *bhūyati*.

197 Emend. *prṣṭhe* : Codex *prṣṭham*.

198 Emend. *paryāyeṇa* : Codex *payāyeṇa*.

199 Emend. *kartavyaṁ* : Codex *katavyaṁ*.

200 Emend. *luṭhanāsanaṁ* : Codex *luṭanāsanaṁ*.

201 Emend. *atha nyubjāsanaṇi* : Codex *anyubjāsanaṇi*.

202 Conj. *stambhavat hastābhyāṁ* : Codex *stamvatstābhyāṁ*.

203 Emend. *nimīlya* : Codex *nimilya*.

24. Lying prone and having raised up the elbows by the sides [of the body, the yogi] should support [himself on] the ground with the palms of both hands and fly up again and again. [This] is the fish pose.

*nyubjaṃ śayanaṃ kūrparau pārśvabhāgābhyāṃ ūrdhvikṛtya*²⁰⁴ *hastatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhya vāraṃ vāraṃ uddānaṃ kuryāt matsyāsanaṃ bhavati || 24 ||*

25. [Lying] prone, [the yogi] should put the toes on the ground, keep [the legs] long, place the palms of both hands at the top of the head and raise up the buttocks. Gazing at the navel and taking the nose onto the ground, [the yogi] should take [the nose forward] as far as the palms of his hands. He should do thus again and again. [This] is the elephant pose.

[fol. 7v] *nyubjaṃ pādāgre bhūmau kṛtvā lambībhūya mastakāgre hastatalau nidhāya nitambam ūrdhvam unnamaya nābhiṃ*²⁰⁵ *lakṣya bhūmau nāsikām āñīya*²⁰⁶ *hastatalaparyantaṃ*²⁰⁷ *nayet itthaṃ punaḥ punaḥ kuryāt gajāśanaṃ bhavati || 25 ||*

26. Remaining as in the elephant pose, [the yogi] should take his head to the right armpit, [and then] to the left armpit, again and again.²⁰⁸ [This] is the hyena pose. *gajāśanavat*²⁰⁹ *sthitvā mastakaṃ vāraṃ vāraṃ dakṣiṇakukṣiṃ savyakukṣiṃ nayet tarakṣvāsanaṃ bhavati || 26 ||*

27. Having bent one leg at a time, [the yogi] should do the elephant pose. [This] is the bear pose.

ekaikaṃ pādaṃ ākuñcyā gajāśanaṃ kuryāt ṛkṣāsanaṃ bhavati || 27 ||

28. In the position of the elephant pose, [the yogi] should bend both knees and repeat it again and again. [This] is the hare pose.

[fol. 8r] *gajāśanasamsthita jānūdvayam ākuñcyā vāraṃ vāraṃ kartavyaṃ śaśāsanaṃ bhavati || 28 ||*

29. In the position of the elephant pose, [the yogi] should rotate one leg at a time anteriorly and continue to do thus. [This] is the chariot pose.

204 Emend. *ūrdhvikṛtya* : Codex *ūrdhvikṛtya*.

205 Emend. *nābhiṃ* : Codex *nābhi*.

206 Emend. *āñīya* : Codex *āñīya*.

207 Emend. *hastatalaparyantaṃ* : Codex *hastatalāparyantaṃ*.

208 The practicalities of this pose suggest that the author is using the word *kukṣi* to refer to the armpit. This is supported by the use of this same word in the description of the *ucchīrṣa-kāsana* (no. 65), in which *kukṣi* clearly means the armpit.

209 Emend. *gajāśanavat* : Codex *gajāśana*.

gajāsanasamsthitaū ekaikaṃ pādaṃ purobhāgena bhrāmayitvā kartavyaṃ rathāsanaṃ bhavati || 29 ||

30. In the position of the elephant pose, [the yogi] should ram the ground with one arm at a time. [This] is the ram pose.

gajāsanasamsthitaū ekaikaṃ bāhuṃ bhūmau tāḍayet meṣāsanaṃ bhavati || 30 ||

31. In the position of the elephant pose, having raised both legs into space, [the yogi] should touch the ground with the head. [This] is the goat pose.

gajāsanasamsthitaū pādadvayaṃ antarālekṛtya mastakena bhūmiṃ spṛśet ajāsanaṃ bhavati || 31 ||

32. Having supported [himself] with the forearms on the ground and bending the knees into the navel, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the sparrow pose.

[fol. 8v] *kūrparaparyantaū hastau dharāṃ avaṣṭabhya jānuṇi nābhau saṃkuñcya tiṣṭhet caṭakāsanaṃ bhavati || 32 ||*

33. Having positioned [himself] on the hands like the sparrow pose, [the yogi] should touch the ears with the knees, place both shanks on the [upper] arms and remain thus. [This] is the crow pose.

hastau caṭakāsanavat saṃsthāpya jānudvayaṃ karnau saṃspṛśya jaṅghādvayaṃ²¹⁰ bāhvor nidhāya tiṣṭhet kākāsanaṃ bhavati || 33 ||

34. In a position like the crow pose, [the yogi] should join the shanks on [each] thigh and raise up the back region [of his body]. [This] is the partridge pose.

kākāsanavat saṃsthitaū jaṅghādvayaṃ²¹¹ ūruṇi saṃmīlya pṛṣṭhapradeśe²¹² ūrdhvaṃ nayet titiryāsanaṃ bhavati || 34 ||

35. Having supported [himself] with both hands on the ground, joining both knees on the navel and supporting [in the air] the shanks and thighs, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the heron pose.

hastābhyāṃ avanīm avaṣṭabhya jānudvayaṃ nābhau saṃmīlya jaṅghā[-] ūruṇi²¹³ saṃstabhya tiṣṭhet bakāsanaṃ bhavati || 35 ||

36. Having adopted the lotus pose, [the yogi] should support [himself] with the palms of both hands on the ground, lift posteriorly both feet, [which are] fastened

210 Emend. -dvayaṃ : Codex -dvaye.

211 Conj. Preisendanz jaṅghādvayaṃ : Codex jaṅghā.

212 Emend. pṛṣṭhapradeśe : Codex praṣṭhapradeśe.

213 Emend. -ūruṇi : Codex -ūruṇi.

in lotus pose, and remain thus. [This] is Bhāradvāja's pose.

[fol. 9r] *padmāsanaṃ samsthāpya hastatalābhyāṃ dharāṃ avaṣṭabhya padmāsanaṃ yuktacaraṇadvayaṃ prṣṭhabhāge nītvā tiṣṭhet bhāradvājāsanaṃ*²¹⁴ *bhavati* || 36 ||

37. Having put the palms of the hands on the ground, [the yogi] should make the soles of the feet fly upwards and [then] fall [down] to the ground. He should do thus again and again. [This] is the “flying up of the rooster” [pose].

*hastatale bhūmau kṛtvā pādāntale*²¹⁵ *ca ūrdhvaṃ uddānaṃ kṛtvā bhūmau patet itthaṃ punaḥ punaḥ kuryāt kukkuṭoddānaṃ*²¹⁶ *bhavati* || 37 ||

38. Having placed one foot on [the back of] the neck, [the yogi] should fix the second foot above it, support [the body] with the palms of both hands [on the ground]²¹⁷ and remain thus. [This] is the wood-sparrow pose.

*ekaṃ pādāṃ grīvāyāṃ samsthāpya dvitīyaṃ*²¹⁸ *pādāṃ upari vinyasya hastatalābhyāṃ avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhet aranyaṇakāśanaṃ bhavati* || 38 ||

39. Having supported [himself] with the palms of both hands on the ground, fixing the elbows on the navel and holding the body [straight] like a stick, [the yogi] remains [thus. This] is the peacock pose.

hastatalābhyāṃ avanim avaṣṭabhya kūrparau nābhau vinyasya daṇḍavac charīraṃ dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet mayūrāsanaṃ bhavati || 39 ||

40. Having positioned [himself] as in the peacock pose, [the yogi] should hold the wrist of one hand with the other. [This] is the lame peacock pose.

[fol. 9v] *mayūrāsanaṃ*²¹⁹ *samsthāpya ekeṇa hastena ekasya hastasya maṇibandhaṃ dhārayet paṅgumayūrāsanaṃ bhavati* || 40 ||

41. Having adopted a prone, straight posture and having supported [himself] with the soles of both feet on the ground, [the yogi] should stand up. [This] is the sword pose.

nyubjaṃ saralam āsanaṃ kṛtvā pādatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhya uttiṣṭhet khaḍgāsanaṃ bhavati || 41 ||

214 Emend. *bhāradvājāsanaṃ* : Codex *bhāradvājāsanaṃ*.

215 Emend. Preisendanz *pādāntale* : Codex *pādāntale*.

216 Emend. Preisendanz *kukkuṭo-* : Codex *kukkuṭo-*.

217 According to the picture of the *aranyaṇakāśana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 15), the yogi's torso is upright and his hands on the ground. Thus, I suspect that the Sanskrit description of this pose in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* has omitted the word *bhūmau*.

218 Emend. *dvitīyaṃ* : Codex *dvitīyaṃ*.

219 Emend. *mayūrāsanaṃ* : Codex *mayūrāsanaṃ*.

42. Having supported [himself] with both elbows on the ground and the jaw with the palms of both hands, [the yogi] should raise [himself] up.²²⁰ [This] is the spear pose.

kūrparābhyāṃ avanim avaṣṭabhya hastatalābhyāṃ hanum avaṣṭabhya uttiṣṭhet śūlāsanaṃ bhavati || 42 ||

43. Having supported [himself] with the palms of both hands on the ground and lifting the toes up [into the air, the yogi] should dance on the palms of the hands. [This] is the “inverted dancing” [pose].

[fol. 10r] *hastatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhya ūrdhvaṃ pādāgre kurvan hastatalābhyāṃ nartanaṃ kartavyaṃ viparītanṛtyaṃ bhavati || 43 ||*

44. In the position of inverted dancing, [the yogi] should touch the nose on the ground and take [it] up. He should touch [the ground] again [and again. This] is the hawk pose.

viparītanṛtyavat²²¹ sthitau nāsikāṃ²²² bhūmau saṃsprṣya ūrdhvaṃ nītvā punaḥ saṃsprṣet śyenāsanaṃ bhavati || 44 ||

45. Having placed the [top of the] skull on the ground, [the yogi] should lift up the feet. [This] is the skull pose.²²³

[fol. 10v] *kapālaṃ bhūmau nidhāya ūrdhvaṃ pādaṃ nayet kapālāsanaṃ bhavati || 45 ||*

46. Having lain prone, placing the hands on the buttocks, lengthening the legs and joining [them] together, [the yogi] should move with his chest. [This] is the snake pose.

nyubjaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā hastau nitambe saṃsthāpya pādaṃ dīrghīkṛtya saṃmīlayaṃ urasā²²⁴ gantavyaṃ sarpāsanaṃ bhavati || 46 ||

47. Having lain prone, [the yogi] should hold the big toes with the hands, with the heels crossed at the back, and should roll [around. This is the prone pose.²²⁵]

220 One might understand *uttiṣṭhet* to mean that the yogi should stand up. However, the picture of the *śūlāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 7) clearly has the legs raised while the elbows are on the ground.

221 Emend. *viparīta* : Codex *viparita*-.

222 Conj. *nāsikāṃ* : Codex *nāsikā*.

223 According to the picture of the *kapālāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 6), the yogi is supporting himself with the palms on the ground, as in a three-point headstand. His arms are wide apart.

224 Emend. *urasā* : Codex *urasāṃ*.

225 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *nyubjāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 84).

[fol. 11r] *nyubjaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā prṣṭhe pārṣṇivyutkrameṇa*²²⁶ *hastābhyāṃ pādāṅguṣṭhau dhṛtvā loḍayet || 47 ||*

Now, the Stationary Poses.

*atha sthānāsanāni*²²⁷

48. Having extended the legs on the ground like a stick, [the yogi] should hold the big toes with the hands, fix the forehead on the knees and remain [thus. This is the “stretching the back” pose].²²⁸

*daṇḍavad bhūmau caraṇau prasārya hastābhyāṃ aṅguṣṭhau dhṛtvā jānūpari*²²⁹ *lalāṭaṃ vinyasya tiṣṭhet || 48 ||*

49. Having extended one leg, pressing the perineum with the heel of the [other] foot, holding the big toes of the extended leg with both hands, [the yogi] should fix his head on the knee. [This] is the “stretching half the back” [pose].

*ekaṃ pādaṃ prasārya ekapādasya pārṣṇinā sīvanīm*²³⁰ *saṃpīḍya hastadvayena prasāritapādāṅguṣṭhaṃ dhṛtvā jānūpari*²³¹ *mastakaṃ nyaset ardhapaścimatānaṃ bhavati || 49 ||*

50. Having positioned [himself] as in the “stretching the back” [pose] and holding one foot on [the back of] the neck, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the “stretching the upper back” [pose].

*paścimatānavat saṃsthitim kṛtvā ekaṃ pādaṃ grīvāyāṃ dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet ūrdhva-paścimatānaṃ*²³² *bhavati || 50 ||*

51. Having grasped the toes of the feet with both hands, [the yogi] should touch the big toes, one at a time, on the ears. [This is the bow pose].²³³

226 Emend. *pārṣṇi* : Codex *pārṣṇi*-.
 227 Conj. *sthānāsanāni* : Codex *sthānānyāsanāni*.
 228 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *garbhāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 84). However, it is quite probable that the name *garbhāsana* is a mistake in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. The sequence of *āsana*-s in the *Haṭhābhyāsa* indicates that this pose is the beginning of a series most probably based on *paścimatānāsana* because the name *paścimatāna* is mentioned in the description of the next pose called *ūrdhva-paścimatāna*. Furthermore, this pose is called *paścimatānāsana* or *paścimottānāsana* in earlier yoga texts (e.g., ŚS 3.109 and HP 1.30).

229 Emend. *jānūpari* : Codex *jānūpari*.
 230 Emend. *sīvanīm* : Codex *sīvani*.
 231 Emend. *jānūpari* : Codex *jānūpari*.
 232 Emend. *ūrdhva* : Codex *urdhva*-.
 233 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *dhanurāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 18 and p. 84).

[fol. 11v] *hastadvayena pādadvayāgre gṛhītvā ekaikaṃ pādāṅguṣṭhaṃ kaṇṇayoḥ
spṛśet || 51 ||*²³⁴

52. Having fixed [one] foot on the [opposite] thigh and the other foot on the other thigh, [the yogi] should hold the big toes with the hands crossed behind the back and remain thus. [This] is the bound lotus pose.

[fol. 12r] *ūruṇi pādaṃ vinyasya itarasmin ūruṇi itaraṃ pādaṃ nyasya pṛṣṭhi-
bhāgena vyatyayena hastābhyāṃ pādāṅguṣṭhau dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet baddhapadmāsa-
naṃ bhavati || 52 ||*

53. Having adopted the lotus pose, [the yogi] should fix both arms inside the feet, thighs and shanks, support [himself] with the palms of both hands on the ground and remain [thus. This] is the rooster pose.

*padmāsanaṃ kṛtvā caraṇa[-]ūrujaṅghānām²³⁵ antare bāhuvayaṃ nyasya
hastatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhet kukkuṭāsanaṃ bhavati || 53 ||*

54. Having remained as in the rooster pose, [the yogi] should hold the wrist of one hand with the other, support [himself firmly] with the palm of the [held] hand on the ground and remain [thus. This] is the lame rooster pose.

*kukkuṭāsanaṃ²³⁶ sthītvā ekena hastena anyasya hastasya maṇibandhaṃ dhṛtvā
hastatalena bhūmim viṣṭabhya tiṣṭhet paṅgukukkuṭāsanaṃ bhavati || 54 ||*

55. Having lain pronely, [the yogi] should place both heels on the neck. Having held both ankles with the hands, [the yogi] should remain [thus. This is called the libation-bowl pose.²³⁷]

*nyubjaṃ śayanaṃ kṛtvā pārṣṇidvayaṃ²³⁸ grīvāyāṃ sthāpayet hastadvayena
gulphadvayaṃ dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet || 55 ||*

234 The following comment, which seems unrelated to the *āsana*-s in this section, has been written beneath the description of the *dhanurāsana* on fol. 11v: *doḥkuṭṭanaṃ || ūru-
kuṭṭanaṃ || pārśvakuṭṭanaṃ || ityādīni kuṭṭanāni muṣṭinā bāhunā pārṣṇinā bhittiyā
bhūminā kartavyāni ||* Emend. Preisendanz *ityādīni* : Codex *ityādīni*. “Beating of the arms, thighs, the sides and so on. [These] beatings should be done with a fist, arm, heel, wall [or] the ground.”

235 Emend. *-jaṅghānām* : Codex *-jaḥghānām*.

236 Emend. *kukkuṭāsanaṃ* : Codex *kukkuṭāsana*.

237 The name of this pose is given in the next description. However, the description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *pādahastasaṃyogāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 84). The compound *pādahastasaṃyogāsana* appears to me to be a late improvisation, and the fact that the *arghyāsana* is mentioned (Sjoman 1999: 75) in the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s description of the *cakrāsana* but not described separately in its section on *āsana* practice, somewhat confirms this.

238 Emend. *pārṣṇidvayaṃ* : Codex *pārṣṇidvayaṃ*.

56. Having remained as in the libation-bowl pose, [the yogi] should support [himself] with the palms of both hands on the ground. [This] is the parasol pose.²³⁹

[fol. 12v] *arghyāsanavat*²⁴⁰ *sthitvā hastatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhnuyāt chatrāsanaṃ bhavati* || 56 ||

57. Having supported [himself] with both hands on the ground, placing the knees on both shoulders and the heels on the chest, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the garland pose.

*hastābhyāṃ avanim avaṣṭabhya skandhayor*²⁴¹ *jānunī saṃsthāpya pārṣṇī*²⁴² *urasi nidhāya tiṣṭhet mālāsanaṃ bhavati* || 57 ||

58. Remaining in the rooster pose and taking the thighs as far as the shoulders, [the yogi] should remain [thus. This] is the Hamsa-bird pose.

[fol. 13r] *kukkuṭāsanaṃ sthitvā skandhaparyantaṃ ūruṇī nītvā*²⁴³ *tiṣṭhet haṃ-sāsanaṃ bhavati* || 58 ||

59. Having placed the knees on the ground, [the yogi] should hold with the hands both arms crossed over one another and remain upright. [This] is the monkey pose.

*jānunī bhūmau saṃsthāpya hastābhyāṃ bāhū*²⁴⁴ *parasparaṃ dhṛtvā saralaṃ tiṣṭhet vānarāsanaṃ*²⁴⁵ *bhavati* || 59 ||

60. [The yogi] should wrap both shanks one over the other, place them on the ground, put the thighs and buttocks on them and remain thus. [This] is the mountain pose.

*jaṅghādvayaṃ parasparaṃ veṣṭayitvā bhūmau saṃsthāpya*²⁴⁶ *tadupari ūruṇī*²⁴⁷ *nidhāya*²⁴⁸ *tadupari nitambaṃ nidhāya tiṣṭhet parvatāsanaṃ bhavati* || 60 ||

61. Having placed the soles of the feet on the ground and the knees on the chest, [the yogi] should bind the shanks and thighs with the hands reversed and remain

239 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *cakrāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 6 and p. 75).

240 Emend. *arghyāsanavat* : Codex *arghyāsanava*.

241 Emend. *skandhayor* : Codex *skandhaya*.

242 Emend. *pārṣṇī* : Codex *pārṣṇi*.

243 Emend. *ūruṇī nītvā* : Codex *ūruṇi nitvā*.

244 Emend. *bāhū* : Codex *bāhu*.

245 Conj. *vānarāsanaṃ* : Codex *vārāsanaṃ*.

246 Conj. *saṃsthāpya* : Codex *saṃsthā*.

247 Emend. *ūruṇī* : Codex *ūruṇi*.

248 Emend. *nidhāya* : Codex *nidhaya*.

thus. [This] is the noose pose.

*pādatale bhūmau nidhāya jānuni*²⁴⁹ *urasi nidhāya viparītahastābhyām ūrusahitajaṅghe nibaddhvā*²⁵⁰ *tiṣṭhet pāsāsanam*²⁵¹ *bhavati* || 61 ||

62. Having supported [himself] with both heels on the ground and holding the ankles with both hands, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the goose [pose]. [fol. 13v] *pārṣṇibhyām bhūmim avaṣṭabhya hastadvayena gulphau dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet kādambam bhavati* || 62 ||

63. Having inserted both hands through the thighs, [the yogi] should hold the buttocks, support [himself] with the soles of both feet on the ground and remain thus. [This] is the girdle pose. *ūrumadhyāt hastau niveśya nitambam dhṛtvā pādatalābhyām bhūmim avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhet kāñcyāsanaṁ bhavati* || 63 ||

64. Having bound the fingers of the hands, [the yogi] should make his whole body pass through the middle of the arms and remain thus. [This] is the “wringing the limbs” [pose].²⁵² [fol. 14r] *hastayoḥ aṅgulīr baddhvā hastayor madhyāt sarvaṁ aṅgaṁ niṣkāsayitvā tiṣṭhet aṅgamoṭanaṁ bhavati* || 64 ||

65. Having placed the soles of the feet, one at a time, in the armpits, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the pillow [pose]. *ekaikaṁ pādatalaṁ kuṅṣau nidhāya tiṣṭhet ucchīrṣakaṁ*²⁵³ *bhavati* || 65 ||

66. Having placed the knee on [one] side of the chest and the heel [of that leg] on the second side of the chest, [the yogi] should hold [the knee and heel] with both arms and remain thus. [This is the “union of the chest and knee” pose].²⁵⁴ *jānuṁ*²⁵⁵ *stanapradeśe nidhāya pārṣṇim*²⁵⁶ *dvitīyasthānapradeśe*²⁵⁷ *nidhāya hastadvayena dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet* || 66 ||

249 Emend. *jānuni* : Codex *jānuni*.

250 Emend. *nibaddhvā* : Codex *nabaddhvā*.

251 Emend. *pāsāsanam* : Codex *paśāsanam*.

252 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *hastāṅgulibaddhāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 84).

253 Emend. *ucchīrṣakaṁ* : Codex *ucchīrṣakaṁ*.

254 The description of this pose matches the picture and description of the *hrjjānusaṁyogāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 85).

255 Emend. *jānuṁ* : Codex *jānu*.

256 Emend. *pārṣṇim* : Codex *pārṣṇi*.

257 Conj. *dvitīya* : Codex *dvitī*.

67. Having put the soles of the feet on the palms of both hands, [the yogi] should remain thus and [then] walk around. [This] is the shoe pose.

hastatalayoḥ pādatale kṛtvā tiṣṭhet gacchet pādukāsanam bhavati || 67 ||

68. [The yogi] should place the soles of both feet on the ground and the elbows on the insides of the [bent] knees and hold the region of the ankles with the hands. He should remain thus. [This] is the “snapping [at the heels]” pose.

[fol. 14v] *pādatale bhūmau samsthāpya jānumadhye kūparau sthāpya hastābhyām gulphapradeśe²⁵⁸ dhṛtvā tiṣṭhet grāhāsanam bhavati || 68 ||*

69. Having placed both fists on the ground and having extended the legs [straight] like a stick, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the Parpaṭa-plant pose.

muṣṭī²⁵⁹ bhūmau samsthāpya pādau daṇḍavat prasārya tiṣṭhet parpaṭāsanam bhavati || 69 ||

70. Having placed on the ground the fists †on the little finger side† and placing the soles of the feet on [them, the yogi] should move his body like a horse. [This] is the horse pose. [Likewise,] the elephant’s seat is [moving the body] like an elephant and the camel’s seat is [moving the body] like a camel.

[fol. 15r] *muṣṭī²⁶⁰ †kaniṣṭhikāpradeśena† bhūmau nidhāya upari pādatale samsthāpya aśvavat śarīram calanīyam²⁶¹ aśvāsanam bhavati gajavat gajasādanam uṣṭravat uṣṭrāsādanam bhavati || 70 ||*

71. Having taken the shoulders up to the head [while sitting, the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the two-headed [pose].

skandham²⁶² śirahparyantaṁ nītvā sthātavyaṁ dviśīrṣaṁ bhavati || 71 ||

72. Having put his jaw on his navel, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the humpbacked pose.

nābhau hanuṁ²⁶³ nidhāya tiṣṭhet kubjāsanam bhavati || 72 ||

73. Having placed the palms of both hands on the ground, [the yogi] should leave the ground [by lifting the body up] between the hands, make the legs [straight] like a stick and move the body around like a swing. [This] is the swing pose.

258 Emend. *gulphapradeśe* : Codex *gulphapradeśo*.

259 Emend. *muṣṭī* : Codex *muṣṭi*.

260 Emend. *muṣṭī-* : Codex *muṣṭi-*.

261 Emend. *calanīyam* : Codex *calanīyam*.

262 Emend. *skandham* : Codex *skandhaḥ*.

263 Emend. *hanuṁ* : Codex *hanaṁ*.

*hastatale bhūmau nidhāya hastamadyāt bhūmiṃ*²⁶⁴ *santyaḥya*²⁶⁵ *daṇḍarūpau pādau kṛtvā preṅkhavac*²⁶⁶ [fol. 15v] *charīraṃ cālanīyaṃ preṅkhāsanam*²⁶⁷ *bhavati* || 73 ||

74. Having remained as in the swing [pose, the yogi] should take the toes over the head, place the back [of the body] on the ground and remain thus.²⁶⁸
*preṅkhavat sthitvā pādāgre mastakopari nītvā prṣṭhabhāgaṃ*²⁶⁹ *bhūmau nidhāya tiṣṭhet* || 74 ||

Now, the Standing Poses.

[fol. 16r] *atha utthānāsanaṇi*²⁷⁰

75. Having joined together both heels [while] standing, [the yogi] should take the buttocks to the level of the knees and remain thus. [This] is the pressure pose.
*pārṣṇidvayaṃ*²⁷¹ *saṃmīlya sthitvā nītabaṃ jānupradeśe ānīya*²⁷² *tiṣṭhet utpīḍāsanam*²⁷³ *bhavati* || 75 ||

76. Having placed one foot on the ground, [the yogi] should take the buttocks to the level of the knees, put the second foot on the knee and remain thus. [This] is the “flying chariot” pose.
*ekaṃ pādaṃ bhūmau nidhāya nītabaṃ jānupradeśe ānīya dvitīyaṃ pādaṃ jānuni*²⁷⁴ *nidhāya tiṣṭhet vimānāsanaṃ*²⁷⁵ *bhavati* || 76 ||

77. Having placed the soles of both feet on the ground and taking the hands [down] along the back [of the body] as far as the shanks, [this] is the pigeon’s seat.

264 Emend. *bhūmiṃ* : Codex *bhūmi*.

265 Emend. *santyaḥya* : Codex *tyaḥya*.

266 Emend. *preṅkhavac* : Codex *prekhava*.

267 Emend. *preṅkhāsanam* : Codex *prekhāsanam*.

268 Unfortunately, the name of this pose is not recorded, and the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19) simply repeats the name of the former pose (i. e., *preṅkhāsana*). One would expect something like *ūrdhvaṇḍīyāsana* (cf. *ūrdhvaṇḍīyāsana*, no. 50).

269 Emend. *prṣṭhabhāgaṃ* : Codex *prṣṭhibhāga*.

270 Emend. *utthānāsanaṇi* : Codex *uttāna āsanāni*.

271 Emend. *pārṣṇidvayaṃ* : Codex *pārṣṇidvaya*.

272 Emend. *ānīya* : Codex *aniya*.

273 Emend. *utpīḍāsanam* : Codex *utpīḍāsanam*.

274 Emend. *jānuni* : Codex *jānuni*.

275 Emend. *vimānāsanaṃ* : Codex *vimānasanaṃ*.

*pādatale bhūmau nidhāya prṣṭhabhāgena*²⁷⁶ *hastau jaṅghāparyantaṃ*²⁷⁷ *nītvā*²⁷⁸ *kapotapīṭhakaṃ*²⁷⁹ *bhavati* || 77 ||

78. Having supported [himself] with one foot on the ground and with the other foot on the thigh, [the yogi] should stand and sit. It should be done thus again and again. [This] is the half-moon [pose].

*ekena pādena bhūmim avaṣṭabhya anyapādatalena ūrum*²⁸⁰ *avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhet āsta*²⁸¹ *iti punaḥ punaḥ kartavyaṃ ardhacandraṃ bhavati* || 78 ||

79. While standing and pressing on the region of one hip²⁸² with the heel [of the other foot, the yogi] should stand [on one leg] and raise [the other. The yogi] should do thus again and again. [This] is the spike pose.

[fol. 16v] *tiṣṭhan san*²⁸³ *pārṣṇinā itarajaghanapradeśe saṃpīḍya sthātavyam utthitavyam iti punaḥ punaḥ kartavyaṃ śaṅkvāsanaṃ bhavati* || 79 ||

80. [The yogi] should stand on one leg and raise [the other.²⁸⁴ This] is [Śiva's] Tāṇḍava-dance pose.

ekena pādena sthātavyam utthātavyaṃ tāṇḍavāsanaṃ bhavati || 80 ||

81. Having placed one foot on the [back of the] neck, [the yogi] should sit [and then] stand up [with the leg on the neck. This] is Trivikrama's pose.

[fol. 17r] *grīvāyāṃ pādaṃ saṃsthāpya sthātavyam utthātavyaṃ trivikramāsa-
naṃ bhavati* || 81 ||

276 Emend. *prṣṭha* - : Codex *prṣṭhi*-.
277 Emend. *paryantaṃ* : Codex *parayantaṃ*.
278 Emend. *nītvā* : Codex *nītvā*.
279 Conj. *-pīṭhaka* : Codex *-nīṭaka*. It is also possible that *nīṭaka* is a corruption of *nāṭaka* (i. e., “pigeon-dancer” pose).
280 Emend. *ūrum* : Codex *ūru*.
281 Conj. *āsta* : Codex *āṣṭa*.
282 The usual meaning of *jaghana* is “hip” or “buttock”, but it can also mean the genitals (Monier-Williams 1899, s.v.). The Sanskrit description somewhat contradicts the picture of *śaṅkvāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 4), which depicts the yogi pressing the inner thigh with the heel of the other leg. The knee of the bent leg is in front of the body, so it could not press the buttock of the other leg in this position. Perhaps *jaghanapradeśa* (i. e., “the region of the hips/genitals”) was believed to include the thighs.
283 Corr. Preisendanz *san* : Codex *saṃn*.
284 In the picture of the *tāṇḍavāsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 10), the yogi appears to have his right leg slightly raised to one side, so that his heel is off the ground.

82. Again and again, [the yogi] should stand up and sit down. [This] is the “standing up repeatedly” [pose].

*punaḥ punaḥ utthātavyam āsitavyam*²⁸⁵ *utthānotthānaṃ bhavati* || 82 ||

83. At a distance of three cubits from a wall, [the yogi] should stand and having touched his chest on the wall and expanded [it,] he should touch it thus again [and again. This] is the “embracing [the wall]” pose.

*hastatrayaṃ bhittiṃ parityajya sthātavyaṃ bhittau hṛdayaṃ saṃspr̥śya niṣkāśya punaḥ saṃspr̥śet āliṅganāsaṃ*²⁸⁶ *bhavati* || 83 ||

84. Hugging one knee to the chest, [the yogi] should stand. [This] is the “embracing the child” [pose].

*ekaṃ jānum*²⁸⁷ *urasi āliṅgya sthātavyaṃ bālāliṅgaṃ bhavati* || 84 ||

85. Having held firmly the penis and scrotum between the thighs, [the yogi] should stand on the tips of the toes. [This] is the loincloth pose.

[fol. 17v] *vṛṣaṇasahitaliṅgaṃ ūrumadhye gādhaṃ dhṛtvā caraṇāgrābhyāṃ sthātavyaṃ kaupīnāsaṃ*²⁸⁸ *bhavati* || 85 ||

86. Having clasped both hands [together], [the yogi] should jump both feet inside them, outside, and inside [again. This] is the “jumping over the threshold” [pose].²⁸⁹

*hastadvayaṃ*²⁹⁰ *baddhvā*²⁹¹ *tanmadhye*²⁹² *caraṇadvayaṃ uḍḍānena bahir āniya antaḥ*²⁹³ *nayet dehalyullaṅghanaṃ bhavati* || 86 ||

87. Having jumped up, [the yogi] should strike his buttocks with both heels. [This] is the deer pose.

[fol. 18r] *uḍḍānaṃ kṛtvā pārṣṇibhyāṃ nitambaṃ tāḍayet hariṇāsaṃ bhavati* || 87 ||

285 Conj. *utthātavyam āsitavyam* : Codex *utthātavya asitavyam*.

286 Conj. *āliṅganāsaṃ* : Codex *āliṅgāsaṃ*.

287 Emend. *jānum* : Codex *jānu*.

288 Emend. *kaupīnāsaṃ* : Codex *kaupināsaṃ*.

289 In the *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 19 and p. 119), this pose is called *uḍḍānāsana*. If this is the original name, it may be connected with the next pose because the latter begins with “jumping up” (i. e., *uḍḍānaṃ kṛtvā* [...]).

290 Emend. *hastadvayaṃ* : Codex *hastadvaye*.

291 Emend. *baddhvā* : Codex *vyadhvā*.

292 Emend. *tanmadhye* : Codex *tanmadhyā*.

293 Emend. *antaḥ* : Codex *ataḥ*.

88. Having stood straight, [the yogi] should take both arms up. Having jumped up again and again, he should take [them down. This] is the pestle pose.

saralaṃ sthitvā ūrdhvaṃ bāhū nayet vāraṃ vāraṃ uddānaṃ kṛtvā nayet mu-salāsaṇaṃ bhavati || 88 ||

89. Holding with one hand the toes of one leg, which is [straight] like a stick, and placing the sole of the other foot on the ground, [the yogi] should spin around quickly. [This] is the pole star pose.

ekena hastena daṇḍarūpasya ekasya pādasyāgraṃ dhṛtvā itarapādataḥ bhū-mau nidhāya tvarayā bhramaṇaṃ kartavyaṃ dhruvāsaṇaṃ bhavati || 89 ||

90. Having extended the hands [out to the sides, the yogi] should spin [them] around. [This] is the potter's disk pose.

hastau prasārya bhrāmaṇaṃ kartavyaṃ kulālacakrāsaṇaṃ bhavati || 90 ||

91. Having put the big toes of the feet on the ground and having raised up the arms, [the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the camel pose.

[fol. 18v] *pādāṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ²⁹⁴ bhūmiṃ dhṛtvā bāhū ūrdhvikṛtya tiṣṭhet uṣṭrāsaṇaṃ²⁹⁵ bhavati || 91 ||*

92. Remaining in camel pose, raising the feet from the ground and taking [them] above the head, [the yogi] should place his back on the ground. This is the “pigeon in space” [pose].²⁹⁶

uṣṭrāsane sthitvā caraṇau bhūmer utthāpya mastakopari nītvā²⁹⁷ prṣṭhaprade-śena bhūmau sthāpayet ākāśakapotāṇaṃ bhavati || 92 ||

93. Having placed the ankle along with the little toe of one foot at the base of the [other] thigh, and having placed the knee [of the lotus leg] on the heel of the other foot, [the yogi] should remain thus and join his hands together. [This] is Garuḍa's pose.

294 Emend. *pādāṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ* : Codex *pādāṃ gūlpābhyāṃ*.

295 Emend. *uṣṭrāsaṇaṃ* : Codex *uṣṭrasanaṃ*.

296 It is difficult to reconcile the description of the *uṣṭrāsana* with the instructions given for the *ākāśakapotāsana*. One might make sense of it by supplying; “Having stood in the camel pose, [bending forward to place the palms of both hands and the back of the head on the ground,] raising the feet from the ground and taking [them] above the head, [the yogi] should place his back on the ground. This is the ‘pigeon in space’ [pose].” This interpretation assumes that the *ākāśakapotāsana* is a forward rolling movement. Unfortunately, it is not illustrated or described in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

297 Conj. *nītvā* : Codex *bhītvā*.

[fol. 19r] ūrumūle itarapādasya kaniṣṭhikāpradeśena²⁹⁸ gulphaṃ²⁹⁹ saṁsthāpya tad eva jānum³⁰⁰ itarapādapārṣṇyāṃ³⁰¹ saṁsthāpya tiṣṭhet hastau saṁmīlayet garuḍāsaṇaṃ³⁰² bhavati || 93 ||

Now, the Poses with a Rope.

*atha rajjvāsānāni*³⁰³

94. Having clasped a rope [secured horizontally above the head³⁰⁴] with both hands, [the yogi] should hold both legs between the hands, above the head and [then] on the ground. He should throw [his legs up over his head in this manner] again and again. [This] is the cockroach pose.

[fol. 19v] *hastadvayena rajjuṃ dhṛtvā pādadvayaṃ hastamadhyāt*³⁰⁵ *śīrasopari bhūmau nidhāya punaḥ punaḥ saṁkṣīpet paroṣṇyāsanaṃ bhavati* || 94 ||

95. Having supported the region of the navel on a rope, [the prone yogi should remain horizontal in the air,] rigid like a stick. [This] is the stick pose.³⁰⁶ *nābhīpradeśaṃ rajjau dhārayitvā daṇḍavat sthīrībhavet daṇḍāsaṇaṃ bhavati*³⁰⁷ || 95 ||

96. Having placed the buttocks on a [horizontal] rope, [the supine yogi] should become rigid like a stick [horizontally in the air. This] is the weight pose. [fol. 20r] *rajjau nitambaṃ sthāpayitvā daṇḍavat*³⁰⁸ *sthīrībhavet bhārāsaṇaṃ bhavati* || 96 ||

97. Having held a [vertical] rope with both hands, [the yogi] should climb up [it. This] is Nārada's pose. *hastābhyāṃ rajjuṃ dhṛtvā ūrdhvaṃ ārohet nāradaśaṇaṃ bhavati* || 97 ||

298 Conj. Preisendanz -pradeśena : Codex -pradeśa-.

299 Emend. -gulphaṃ : Codex -gulphāṃ.

300 Emend. jānum : Codex jānu.

301 Emend. -pārṣṇyāṃ : Codex -pārṣṇyaṃ.

302 Emend. garuḍāsaṇaṃ : Codex gurūḍāsaṇaṃ.

303 Diagnostic Conj. rajjvāsānāni : Codex rajvānyāsānāni.

304 This is depicted in the Śrītattvanidhi's illustration of the paroṣṇyāsana (Sjoman 1999: pl. 11) and it makes sense of the Sanskrit description.

305 Emend. madhyāt : Codex mādhyāt.

306 The name of this pose has been omitted from this description, but it matches the description and illustration of the daṇḍāsana in the Śrītattvanidhi (Sjoman 1999: pl. 11 and p. 78).

307 Diagnostic Conj. sthīrībhavet daṇḍāsaṇaṃ bhavati : Codex sthīraṃ bhavati.

308 Emend. daṇḍavat : Codex daṇḍava.

98. Having assumed the lotus pose and having held a [vertical] rope with both hands, [the yogi] should climb [up it. This] is the “[climbing up to] heaven” pose. *padmāsanaṃ kṛtvā hastābhyāṃ rajjuṃ dhṛtvā ārohet svargāsanaṃ bhavati* || 98 ||

99. Having assumed the rooster pose and having held a [vertical] rope with the hands, [the inverted yogi] should climb [up it. This] is the spider pose. *kukkuṭāsanaṃ kṛtvā hastābhyāṃ rajjuṃ dhṛtvā ārohet ūṇanābhyāsanaṃ bhavati*³⁰⁹ || 99 ||

100. Having held a [vertical] rope with both fists and having put the soles of the feet on the [fists, the yogi] should remain thus. [This] is the parrot pose. [fol. 20v] *muṣṭibhyāṃ rajjuṃ dhṛtvā tadupari pādāntale sthāpayitvā tiṣṭhet śukāsanaṃ bhavati* || 100 ||

101. Having held a [vertical] rope with the big toes above and the hands below, [the inverted yogi] should climb up [it. This] is the caterpillar [pose]. [fol. 21r] *pādāṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ ūrdhvaṃ rajjuṃ dhṛtvā adhaḥ rajjuṃ hastābhyāṃ dhṛtvā ārohet tṛṇajalūkā*³¹⁰ *bhavati* || 101 ||

102. Having held a [vertical] rope with one fist, [the yogi] should climb up [it. This] is the grub pose. *ekayā muṣṭyā rajjuṃ*³¹¹ *dhṛtvā ārohet vṛntāsanaṃ bhavati* || 102 ||

103. Having pushed the fists through the thighs and knees, [the yogi] should hold two [vertical ropes] with them, while holding a [counter-]weight [such as a stone³¹²] with the teeth, and should climb up. [This] is the curlew pose. *ūrujānvantarābhyāṃ muṣṭī*³¹³ *niṣkāśya tābhyāṃ rajjudvayaṃ dhṛtvā dantaiḥ bhāraṃ dhṛtvā ārohet krauñcāsanaṃ*³¹⁴ *bhavati* || 103 ||

309 Diagnostic Conj. *ūrṇanābhyāsanaṃ bhavati* : Codex *ūrṇanābhyāsana*.

310 Emend. *tṛṇajalūkā* : Codex *traṇajalukam*.

311 Emend. *rajjuṃ* : Codex *rañjjuṃ*.

312 This is depicted in the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s illustration of the *krauñcāsana* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 12).

313 Emend. *muṣṭī* : Codex *muṣṭīm*.

314 Emend. *krauñcāsanaṃ* : Codex *kraucāsanaṃ*.

Poses by which piercing of the sun and moon [occurs] are [now] taught.³¹⁵
*sūryacandrābhedanāny āsanāni*³¹⁶ *kathyante* ||

104. Having placed both elbows on the ground, [the yogi] should support [himself] with the knees on the ground, place the hands on the head and heels on the buttocks and remain thus. [This] is the boar pose.

*kūrparau bhūmau sthāpayitvā jānubhyāṃ avanim avaṣṭabhya hastau mastake samsthāpya parṣṇī*³¹⁷ *nitambe samsthāpya tiṣṭhet vārāhāsanam bhavati* || 104 ||

105. Having put the left heel on the navel [and] the other foot on the [opposite] thigh, [the yogi] should clasp the outside of the right knee with the left hand and hold the toes of the [right foot, which are] below the left knee. He should remain thus. [This] is Matsyendra's seat.

[fol. 21v] *vāmapārṣṇīm*³¹⁸ *nābhau itarapādām ūruṇi samsthāpya vāmahastena dakṣiṇajānum bahiḥpradeśena samveṣṭya vāmajānunah adhaḥ pādāgrām dhrtvā tiṣṭhet matsyendrapīṭham bhavati* || 105 ||

106. Having joined together the feet, [the yogi] should take the toes onto the pelvic floor and the heels below the penis and sit on the soles of the feet thus. [This] is the perineum pose.

*pādaḥ sammilīya pādāgre ādhāre*³¹⁹ *pārṣṇī līṅgād adhaḥ ānīya pādatalayoḥ*³²⁰ *samviśet yonyāsanam bhavati* || 106 ||

107. Having placed the [upturned] sole of one foot on the [opposite] thigh and having fixed the other [foot] on the other thigh, [the yogi] should remain [sitting] upright. [This] is the "lucky mark" pose.³²¹

[fol. 22r] *ūruṇi pādatalam samsthāpya itara ūruṇi itaram niveśya saralam*³²² *tiṣṭhet svastikāsanam bhavati* || 107 ||

315 I do not know why these poses have been classified as "sun" and "moon" poses. Whether one takes the sun and moon to mean *prāṇā* and *apāna*, the *piṅgalā* and *idā* channels, or the right and left sides of the body, such associations do not appear to characterise the following poses.

316 Emend. *sūryacandrābhedanāny āsanāni* : Codex *sūryaṃ candrābhedanāny āsanāni*.

317 Emend. *parṣṇī* : Codex *parṣṇi*.

318 Emend. *vāmapārṣṇīm* : Codex *vāmapārṣṇi*.

319 Conj. *ādhāre* : Codex *adhare*.

320 Emend. *-talayoḥ* : Codex *-talayo*.

321 In the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, *svastikāsana* is the same as the unbound version of *padmāsana* in other yoga texts (cf. HP 1.47–49). In the *Śrītattvanidhi*, a picture of the unbound lotus pose has been included under the name of *padmāsana* (Sjoman 1999: pl. 14), but the description of it is the same as that of the bound lotus pose (*baddhapadmāsana*).

322 Emend. *saralam* : Codex *sasalam*.

108. Having pressed the perineum with one heel and the penis with the heel of the other foot, [the yogi] should remain [sitting] upright. [This] is the thunderbolt pose.

ekayā pārṣṇyā sīvaniṃ sampīḍya itarapādapārṣṇyā³²³ liṅgaṃ niṣpīḍya saralaṃ tiṣṭhet vajrāsanaṃ bhavati || 108 ||

109. Having placed the soles of the feet on the ground, [the yogi] should take his knees to the base of his ears. [This] is the difficult pose.

pādatalābhyāṃ bhūmim avaṣṭabhya jānuni karṇamūle nayet utkaṭāsanaṃ bhavati || 109 ||

110. Having placed both heels on the navel, [the yogi] should join the outer region of both shanks. [This] is the conch shell pose.

[fol. 22v] *pārṣṇī³²⁴ nābhau samsthāpya jaṅghā bahiḥpradeśena saṃmīlayet śuktyāsanaṃ³²⁵ bhavati || 110 ||*

111. [The yogi] should remain like a corpse on the ground. [This] is the corpse pose.

śavavad bhūmau tiṣṭhet śavāsanaṃ bhavati || 111 ||

112. Having stretched out both legs, [this] is the “stretching out [the legs]” pose.

pādadvayaṃ vitanyottānāsanaṃ³²⁶ bhavati || 112 ||

Appendix 3: A Comparison of Medieval and Modern *Āsana*-s

The following table outlines a comparison between the shapes of the *āsana*-s of Pattabhi Jois’ Aṣṭāṅgavinyāsa (PJAV) and those of medieval yoga texts. PJAV is only a small sample of the *āsana*-s taught in all modern Indian yoga schools. However, it provides a more representative sample of the *āsana*-s taught by Kṛṣṇamācārya and his students, whose yoga has been widely disseminated throughout the world.

When considering the results of this comparison, one should bear in mind the difficulties of comparing modern and medieval *āsana*-s, which I have mentioned in the conclusion of this chapter. These results neither prove nor disprove the direct influence of medieval texts on modern yoga traditions, but they suggest the

323 Conj. *itarapādapārṣṇyā* : Codex *itarapādārghyā*.

324 Conj. *pārṣṇī* : Codex *pārṣṇi*.

325 Conj. *śuktyāsanaṃ* : Codex *śukyāsanaṃ*.

326 Conj. *vitanyottānāsanaṃ* : Codex *vitanottānāsanaṃ*.

types of *āsana*-s which modern traditions have most probably adapted from pre-modern Haṭha Yoga. The number in round brackets indicates the number of *āsana*-s in a category such as standing poses. The names of the types of *āsana*-s (i. e., “standing”, “floor” and “finishing”) do not appear in Pattabhi Jois’ book *Yoga Mala* but are generally used among practitioners: “standing” poses for those in which the body weight is supported by the legs, “floor poses” for those done close to the floor, and “finishing poses” for those which form a concluding sequence at the end of the practice. I have not counted separately variations in some of PJA’s *āsana*-s (e. g., *jānuśīrṣāsana* A, B, C, D, etc.) and have not included the names of PJA’s *āsana*-s which did not yield a correspondence.

There are further correspondences between the *āsana*-s in the above textual sources and those in the intermediate and advanced sequences of Pattabhi Jois’ Aṣṭāṅgavinyāsa.

Type of <i>āsana</i> in PJAV's primary sequence	Name of the PJAV <i>āsana</i>	Name of the medieval <i>āsana</i>	Textual source
<i>sūryanamaskāra</i>		0	0
standing poses (10)	<i>utkaṭāsana</i>	<i>utkaṭāsana</i> (though this pose has the knees bent until the anus is on the heels)	GS 2.27
floor poses (20)	<i>daṇḍāsana</i>	<i>daṇḍāsana</i>	<i>Pātañjalayogaśāstravivarāṇa</i> , <i>Tattvavaiśārādī</i> on <i>sūtra</i> 2.46, etc.
	<i>paścimatānāsana</i>	<i>paścimatānāsana</i>	ŚS 3.109, HP 1.30, etc.
	<i>ardhabaddhapadma-pāsci-mottānāsana</i>	a combination of <i>mahāmudrā</i> and <i>baddhapadmāsana</i>	The <i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa</i> (14, 81–82) is the earliest text to teach both these techniques.
	<i>jānuśīrṣāsana</i>	variations on <i>mahāmudrā</i> ; <i>ardhapaścimatānāsana</i> ; <i>mahāmudrāsana</i>	DYŚ 132–133; HAP 49; JP vv. 103–106
	<i>navāsana</i>	similar to <i>naukāsana</i> though <i>naukāsana</i> has the elbows on the ground	HAP 11
	<i>bhujapīḍāsana</i>	<i>mālāsana</i>	HAP 57
	<i>kūrmāsana</i>	similar to <i>bhīḍokāsana</i> (i. e., legs straight and parted with the head and shoulders on the ground), except for the position of the hands	JP vv. 183–187
	<i>suptakūrmāsana</i>	Variation on <i>phaṇīndrāsana</i> and <i>yoganidrāsana</i> . Balancing on the buttocks while the spine is upright and the legs are raised in various positions such as the soles of the feet together or behind the neck is seen in various <i>āsana</i> -s in the <i>Jogapradīpyakā</i> (e. g., <i>gopī-candrāsana</i> , <i>bharatharyāsana</i> , etc.).	HR 3.65; HAP 70
	<i>garbhapiṇḍāsana</i>	<i>valgulyāsana</i>	HSC, ms. no 2244, fol. 18r, ll. 3–8
	<i>kukkuṭāsana</i>	<i>kukkuṭāsana</i>	VS 1.78, HP 1.25, etc.

(Continued)

Type of <i>āsana</i> in PJA V's primary sequence	Name of the PJA V <i>āsana</i>	Name of the medieval <i>āsana</i>	Textual source
	<i>baddhakoṇāsana</i>	<i>hālīpāvāsana</i> ; <i>jonāsana</i>	JP vv. 261–263; as illustrated in the <i>Yogāsanamālā</i> (Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute 2006: 388)
	<i>upaviṣṭakoṇāsana</i>	a forward bending version of <i>uttānāsana</i> ; <i>pakṣyāsana</i>	HAP 112; SMĀ fol. 43v, ll. 3–6
	<i>suptakoṇāsana</i>	This is a combination of <i>uttānāsana</i> (i. e., legs abducted) and <i>lāṅgalāsana</i> ; <i>abhikāsana</i> .	HAP 15; SMĀ fol. 43v, ll. 6–8
	<i>ūrdhvamukha paścimottānāsana</i>	<i>phodyāsana</i> ; possibly, <i>śayitapaścimatānāsana</i>	JP vv. 120–122; HR 3.68
finishing poses (15)	<i>ūrdhavadhanurāsana</i>	<i>paryañkāsana</i>	HAP 16
	<i>paścimatānāsana</i>	<i>paścimatānāsana</i>	ŚS 3.109, HP 1.30, etc.
	<i>sarvaṅgāsana</i>	<i>narakāsana</i> ; <i>viparītikaranāsana</i>	HAP 14; JP vv. 163–165
	<i>halāsana</i>	<i>lāṅgalāsana</i>	HAP 15
	<i>karṇapīḍāsana</i>	This is similar to <i>devāsana</i> , though the latter does not involve squeezing the ears.	JP vv. 166–169
	<i>ūrdhva padmāsana</i>	Combination of <i>narakāsana</i> and <i>viparītikaranāsana</i> with <i>padmāsana</i> . The <i>Rudrayāmālottaratantra</i> (23.88) describes an <i>āsana</i> with the head and elbows on the ground and the legs in the air in <i>padmāsana</i> .	HAP 14; JP vv. 163–165
	<i>piṇḍāsana</i>	This is a variation of <i>uttānakūrmāsana</i> , in which the hips are raised and the arms wrapped around the legs rather than threaded through them.	HP 1.26
	<i>matsyāsana</i>	<i>nagrāsana</i>	JP vv. 351–353
	<i>śīrṣāsana</i>	<i>narakāsana</i> ; <i>kapālyāsana</i>	YC p. 156; JP vv. 113–115, etc.

(Continued)

Type of <i>āsana</i> in PJA V's primary sequence	Name of the PJA V <i>āsana</i>	Name of the medieval <i>āsana</i>	Textual source
	<i>baddhapadmāsana</i>	<i>baddhapadmāsana</i>	Viv 14, etc.
	<i>yogamudrā</i>	bending forward in <i>padmāsana</i>	(see below)
	<i>padmāsana</i>	<i>padmāsana</i>	DYŚ 35–38, etc.
	<i>utpluti</i>	<i>lolāsana</i>	<i>Rudrayāmalottaratantra</i> 23.43–45
	<i>śavāsana</i>	<i>śavāsana</i>	HP 1.34, etc.

Table 6: A comparison of medieval and modern *āsana*-s.

Abbreviations (Primary Sources)

DYŚ.	<i>Dattātreyayogaśāstra.</i>
GS.	<i>Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā.</i>
Gś.	<i>Goraḥṣaśataka</i> , ed. Fausta Nowotny. Köln: K. A. Nowotny, 1976.
Gśk.	<i>Goraḥṣaśataka</i> , ed. Swāmī Kuvalayānanda and S. A. Shukla. Lonavla: Kaivalya-dhama S. M. Y. M. Samiti, 2006.
HAP.	<i>Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati.</i>
HP.	<i>Haṭhapradīpikā.</i>
HR.	<i>Haṭharatnāvalī.</i>
HSC.	<i>Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā.</i>
JP.	<i>Jogapradīpyakā.</i>
SMĀ.	<i>Haṭhapradīpikā-Siddhāntamuktāvalī.</i>
ŚS.	<i>Śivasamhitā.</i>
ŚTN.	<i>Śrītattvanidhi.</i>
Viv.	<i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa.</i>
VivB.	<i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa</i> , ms. no. 4110, Central Library, Baroda. ³²⁷
VivN1.	<i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa</i> , ms. no. C0060-03 (NS 919), National Archives of Kathmandu.
VivN2.	<i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa</i> , ms. no. G0058-15 (NS 858), National Archives of Kathmandu.
VS.	<i>Vasiṣṭhasamhitā.</i>
YC.	<i>Yogacintāmaṇi</i> (of Śivānandasarasvatī).
YTĀ.	<i>Yogatārāvalī.</i>
YY.	<i>Yogayājñavalkya.</i>

Other Abbreviations and Special Signs

[–]	Connects two words in a compound
Σ	All collated manuscripts except those listed after it
†yogaḥ†	The reading <i>yogaḥ</i> is spurious and the present editor has not been able to improve upon it.
ama+ska	One <i>akṣara</i> between “ma” and “ska” is illegible or missing
ca]	“ca” is the lemma (i. e., the word accepted in the edited text)
Conj.	A conjecture by the author
Conj. [Devadatta]	A conjecture by Devadatta
Corr.	A correction
Diagnostic Conj.	A diagnostic conjecture by the author
Diagnostic Conj. [Devadatta]	A diagnostic conjecture by Devadatta
ed.	editor
Emend.	An emendation
fol.	folio
fols.	folios

327 I wish to thank James Mallinson for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.

l.	line
ll.	lines
n.	note
ms. no.	manuscript number
r	recto
v	verso
v.	verse
Viv	The Gorakhnāth Mandir's edition of the <i>Vivekamārtaṇḍa</i>
vol.	volume
vv.	verses
[word]	Square brackets enclose a word supplied in the translation.

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see Mallik 1954.

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Chapter 4

Yoga and Sex: What is the Purpose of *Vajrolīmudrā*?

James Mallinson

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